Gilding the Lily : music and monarchy in Paris (1814-1833)

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Gilding the Lily: Music and Monarchy in Paris (1814-1833)

Anna McCready – Ph.D. Abstract

This study is concerned with the impact of historical and political allegory on the musical repertoire of the French Restoration (1814-1830), and of the turbulent three years that succeeded it. The text explores ways in which this post-Enlightenment society had become cognisant of history, and was using it to its own ends. Historical-mindedness, with its attendant symbolism, was reflected across the arts during the Restoration in a cultural focus on Bourbon propagandist icons from the *ancien régime*. Nowhere was this more attractively presented than in the iconography surrounding Marie-Caroline de Berry (mother of the heir to the throne), who exploited the new historical vogue to become a defining cultural force. The links between the musical world of the Restoration and the actions of Marie-Caroline de Berry, therefore, reveal important new aspects about the reception of music in the post-Napoleonic era.

Chapter One provides a historical résumé of the key political, social and intellectual players of the Bourbon Restoration, as well as its cultural inheritance. It contextualises the writings of commentators, and considers the historical and aesthetic background to the upsurge of historical interest that characterised the period. This chapter isolates the outmoded propagandist tradition of *pièces de circonstance* as a means of focussing on the political disparities of the period. Chapter Two considers the ways in which the French monarchy was threatened by the ambiguities of its own propagandist material, specifically through the public's perception of one ballet, Gyrowetz's *Les Pages du duc de Vendôme* (1820), which was presented in celebration of the birth of the Duc de Bordeaux, son of Marie-Caroline de Berry.

Chapter Three focuses on the reception of Rossini's comic opera *La Cenerentola* in Paris (1822), and considers parallels between the world created in the opera and that of the Bourbon Restoration towards the watershed year of 1830. It addresses the complex affinity between the monarchy's egoism and society's capacity for self-adulation. Using Auber's grand opera *Gustave III, ou le bal masqué* (1833) as its centrepiece, Chapter Four considers

the extent to which operatic regicide can be interpreted as a reflection of the contemporaneous public's growing indifference towards its own monarchy. Chapter Five proposes symbolic interpretations of Jeanne d'Arc in Rossini's cantata *Giovanna d'Arco* (1832) as a sacrificial victim in the context of a Bourbon attempt to reclaim the throne from Louis-Philippe d'Orléans after July 1830. In Chapter Six, Berlioz's song *La Captive* (1833) is at the heart of an examination of issues about exile and captivity.

Using musical sources in tandem with visual imagery, the interdisciplinary approach employed in this study explores the relationship between real life during the period, and its parallel cultural world. Crucial to this approach are questions about the extent to which disparate interpretations of Bourbon historical symbols in musical works either undermined the Bourbon agenda or created a social consensus in politically troubled times.

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Gratitude must ultimately be voiced towards the beautiful city of Paris for making itself so irresistible.

Old Bumblehead the 18th trying on the Napoleon Boots — or, Preparing for the Spanish Campaign

Plate 1: Old Bumblehead the 18th trying on the Napoleon Boots — or, Preparing for the Spanish Campaign.

Introduction

An English caricature entitled *Old Bumblehead the 18th trying on the Napoleon boots* (dated 1823) depicts Louis XVIII squeezing his gout-ridden feet into Napoleon's boots as he prepares for a military campaign in Spain (see Plate 1).[1] A modern commentary reads: 'the movement that he makes prevents him from seeing the guillotine threatening on the horizon, and makes him lose his crown'.[2] This metaphor for Louis XVIII inheriting Napoleon's political legacy highlighted the strategic problems encountered after the Bourbon regime had replaced the Empire. The constitutional, political and sociological changes had far-reaching repercussions that prompt us to ask questions about how royalists (Bourbons and Orléanists) and anti-royalists (Republicans, Bonapartists and other factions) perceived their new political environment, and about the impact of the new regime on France's cultural output.[3]

If the French Revolution and Napoleon represented the revelries of the 'night before', then the Restoration represented the cold light of the 'morning after'. This commonly held critical position has led to a tendency for scholarship to neglect the Restoration in favour of the more tempestuous Revolutionary and Napoleonic eras. In a broad sociological sense, this text is part of an evolving response to questions about leadership and society, and about the ways in which, during the Restoration of the Bourbon monarchy, the divided French nation

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1 *Old Bumblehead the 18th trying on the Napoleon Boots - or, Preparing for the Spanish Campaign*, engraving by Cruikshank, 17 February 1823, detailed in Anne-Marie Rosset, *Un Siècle d'histoire de France par l'estampe 1770-1871, Collection de Vinck, Inventaire analytique*, vol. 5 'La Restauration et Les Cent-Jours' (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, Département des Estampes, 1938), no. 10883.

2 'le mouvement qu'il fait l'empêche de voir la guillotine menaçant à l'horizon et lui fait perdre sa couronne' Rosset, *Collection de Vinck*, vol. 5, no. 10883.

3 The Orléanists were supporters of the claim to the throne of descendants of Philippe I, Duc d'Orléans (the younger brother of Louis XIV). His son, Philippe II, Duc d'Orléans was regent of France from 1715-1723. It was the ambitions of Philippe II that moved the Orléans dynasty into open opposition to that of the Bourbons.

was faced with constitutional anomalies that were reflected in developments within cultural spheres.

This inquiry is concerned with the interpretation of ambiguous political allegories in Parisian culture during and immediately after the Bourbon Restoration (1814-1833), in regard to the relationship between the Restoration's music and its monarchy. I examine the implications of historical iconography on the musical stage and in the broader musical arena, during and immediately after the reactionary period of the Restoration. Thus, the study proposes a recontextualisation of musical works in the light of the shaky political climate of the Restoration. Using a different iconographic context for each chapter, I examine politically ambiguous historical representations in diverse musical genres, and I discuss broader questions about the influence of this cultural tendency on the deterioration of the French monarchy.

The first four chapters embrace contrasting musico-theatrical genres, while Chapters Five and Six focus on a cantata and a chanson in turn. Each chapter places its representative musical work in a political context and alongside parallel works from the visual arts and literature. Such an approach represents a fundamental inquiry into the relationship between musical and cultural developments and their political complements, an approach that does not lay claim to positivism, but instead proposes parallels that resonate convincingly against one another. On a broader plane, this text examines links between the representation of specific events on the musical stage and those occurring in real life, and it presents these links as a central force behind the development of the Romantic age.

Crucial to the inter-relationship between culture and real life was the emerging cult of 'historical-mindedness'.[4] Perceptions of France's past (and those of other European countries) were manifest throughout the Restoration and immediately afterwards in the theatrical world, in the fine arts, in fictional, academic and journalistic writings. France's all too recent traumas determined this new historical fervour to a great extent. With the collective memories of the Revolution and its turbulent consequences still in the minds of many survivors, any sense of historical predictability had been shattered. Thus, while the ingredients and opportunities for successful Bourbon propaganda were present throughout the Restoration, these were inevitably marred by recent events. Historical figures provided a set

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[4] Stephen Bann describes a 'cultural phenomenon of "historical-mindedness"' in *Romanticism and the Rise of History* (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1995), p. xi.

of representational symbols that became an important common focal point for discourse about constitutional issues, amongst which the legitimacy of the monarchy was paramount.[5] The historical cult, as we shall see, was not only a principal concern for the new regime's propaganda interests; it also characterised early Romantic culture.

If the Parisian public was to appreciate the reinstated monarchy through diverse allegorical representations, that monarchy needed to offer a believable example of leadership. For the Bourbons and their supporters, the battle to retain sympathisers, let alone win over the opposition, would not be easy. As the Bourbons progressively lost face during the Restoration they provided increasingly less convincing iconography with which to mask their own political embarrassments. Not only this, but the uncertain reception of certain icons (in particular those based on historical characters) distorted their reputation. The monarchy's self-identification with historical icons whose definition was no longer clear laid them open to opportunists from all parties wishing to exploit the ambiguity of political messages. In the face of the diversity of representational interests, history became a double-edged sword for the restored Bourbons; it proved both useful and detrimental to their attempts at creating convincing allegory.

Ironically, as we shall see, in some instances artworks and music that had begun their existence as Empire propaganda were adopted by the Bourbons, while some works that were initially presented as Bourbon propaganda became subsumed progressively into the people's broader cultural interests. The awesome task faced by the Bourbons of re-integrating opposing factions was, as will become apparent, not aided by such ambiguous allegorical messages.

From some two hundred years's distance, our view of early nineteenth-century French music is at best selective, even myopic. Despite scholarly inroads into the period, our ideas about the relationships between the people and the arts continue to be limited, and disintegrationalist. Such a modern approach flies in the face of Parisian society of the early nineteenth century, for whom the arts were closely integrated into everyday life. In order to understand the aesthetic taste of Restoration audiences, we need, therefore, to examine the nation's musical history on a broader paradigm. Real-life events frequently excited creativity

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[5] 'France, having generated and survived the Revolution, had a unique experience of historical discontinuity that was expressed, in diverse ways, through representation.' Bann, *Romanticism and the Rise of History*, p. xiii.

not only in highbrow cultural genres (such as opera and painting), but also in their lower-class counterparts (such as chanson and caricature). Only by studying these two extremes of affiliation can we begin to perceive the extreme levels of political communication embedded in individual genres.

If France's aesthetic output was a hybrid of its political concerns during the Restoration, it was also reliant on a fusion of aesthetic influences from both Italy and Germany. Although it is stereotypical to suggest that Germanic concern with the sublime in philosophical and aesthetic issues became merged in France with the Italian acknowledgement of sensuality and exhilaration, the musical style certainly reflects the basis of this analogy. The rise of the virtuoso soloist (through Paganini) and of operatic coloratura (through Rossini) was keenly felt in Paris, as were the dramatic plots of Schiller and Goethe. Certainly, French composers such as Daniel-François-Esprit Auber, François-Adrien Boïeldieu and Louis Hérold diluted the dominant German intellectual and philosophical influence with inflections of the lighter-weight Italian style. In the light of its assimilation of the defining characteristics of these and other foreign influences, France's cultural preoccupation with its own history can also be regarded in part as an anxiety about national identity, an anxiety that was to be expressed by its artistic forces throughout the nineteenth century.

That which we regard today to be 'frivolous' or 'fake' music, often associated with Italian music of the early nineteenth century, certainly had a powerful impact on French aesthetic sensibility. Not only this, but there was something inherently French in the nation's willingness to embrace and to glory in such an aesthetic to the extent that, as will become evident, serious and fake sometimes became indistinguishable. The result was often a strangely schizophrenic style in which hard-hitting narratives were supported by comparably trivial music. The contradiction between the serious and the light-hearted in French culture, and the juxtaposing in music of expressions of anxiety and release, were manifestations of the Restoration's *air du temps*, and are at the heart of this enquiry.

Recent musicology has frequently turned for its intellectual justification to extra-musical theories (literary, philosophical, etc.). This has become axiomatic to the extent that we now expect this level of reference (or indeed reverence) within any new text. In as much as any theory espouses an old theory (the image of an inverted pyramid as a metaphor for inherited human thought), this thirst for a 'designer label' reflects a search for legitimacy. In

this light, my text does not consciously set out to underline or support views of any specific historiographical method, although it inevitably reflects received ideas along the way.

Bearing in mind the predominantly musical engagement in my title, and acknowledging the 'cultural historian' bias of my chief influences, I am bound to attempt to define the nature of my historical approach, to ask, as it were, from which angle I have cut 'the historical cake'. In its examination of the minutiae of the period, this study offers a historical recontextualisation that combines a close musical inspection with a quantity of primary source research and sociological commentary. At the centre of my approach is the tenet that by casting the net of enquiry more broadly (and simultaneously deeper) we can acquire a stronger grasp of the cultural references at play during the early nineteenth century, and implicitly during other periods. Therefore, this text combines narrative elements with historiography and music analysis to illuminate the interaction between various socio-political, artistic and musical aspects of the period. I have used diverse musical genres as the keys to unlocking and expanding the present view of the Parisian musical world of ca. 1814-1833.

Of the various musicological approaches that have already touched on the early nineteenth century, two in particular reflect most clearly the orientations of my study: those that have posed stimulating arguments about the period itself (and in relation to others), and those that have reached deepest into the archives: the eagle and the sparrow, as it were.

Among the former group, works such as Rosen's *The Romantic Generation*, appreciate the stylistic inheritance of the music of the period. His study contests a late twentieth-century experience of early nineteenth-century music, in that he explores the ways in which other cultural fields and social experience illuminate musical meaning. James Johnson's *Listening in Paris* likewise acknowledges the panorama of sociological factors behind the evolution of cultural identity, and it places the reader more closely in proximity to the experience of contemporary audiences, addressing issues to do with audience diversity and behaviour.[6] Both of these approaches, amongst innumerable others (especially those rooted in theatrical history), have orientated and inspired my own ideas.[7]

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[6] Charles Rosen, *The Romantic Generation* (London: Harper Collins, 1996); James Johnson, *Listening in Paris: A Cultural History* (California: University of California Press, 1995).

[7] Frederick William John Hemmings, *Theatre and State in France 1760-1905* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), his *The Theatre Industry in Nineteenth-Century France 1760-*

Within the latter group lies, the monumental archival research involved in *La Musique à Paris en 1830-31* (edited by François Lesure and Joël-Marie Fauquet), an extensive study of the musical world of Paris around 1830. As an invaluable source of information about the minutiæ of Parisian musical life: it has provided a window onto and enlivened a particular musical moment in French history, and it has set a formidable bench-mark for my own research.[8]

Among the extensive non-musicological approaches to the Restoration (biographies, narrative histories, institutional and musical histories, etc.), Françoise Waquet's *Les Fêtes royales sous la Restauration*, a survey of the existing archives for royal celebrations, has been particularly motivating. In addition, several important studies on historical perception during the Restoration have had an important resonance. These include the works of Beth Segal Wright (who has concentrated on historical painting), Susan Dunn and Linda Orr (who are concerned with the writings of Romantic historians), and Stephen Bann (who has combined his research in Romantic historians and the visual arts).[9] While contemporaneous non-musical sources (including journals, memoirs, and early nineteenth-century historiography) are also present in this study, it has not been a priority to stratify consciously those interpretative levels against my own (or other modern) opinions, but to let their significance rely on the context in which they are placed.

In Chapter One, I give a historical resumé of the Bourbon Restoration and its key political, social and intellectual players, as well as its cultural inheritance. I contextualise the writings of commentators, and consider the historical and aesthetic background to the upsurge in historical interest. I examine ways in which the Restoration's need for clear leadership was reflected in the focus on particular historical icons in propaganda across the arts, and I isolate the tradition of *pièces de circonstance* as a case study for the political disparities of the

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1905 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), and John McCormick, *Popular Theatres of Nineteenth-Century France 1800-1914* (London: Routledge, 1993).

[8] Françoise Waquet, *Les Fêtes royales sous la Restauration, ou l'Ancien régime retrouvé* (Paris: Arts et Métiers Graphiques, 1981); Lesure, François, and Fauquet, Joël-Marie, eds., *La Musique à Paris en 1830-1831. Enquête réalisée par Marie-Noëlle Colette, Adélaïde de Place, Anne Randier et Nicole Wild* (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, 1983).

[9] Beth Segal Wright, *Painting and History during the French Restoration. Abandoned by the Past* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997); Susan Dunn, *The Deaths of Louis XVI: Regicide and the French Political Imagination* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994); Linda Orr, *Headless History* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1990); Stephen Bann, *The Clothing*

period. Chapter Two considers the ways in which the Bourbon monarchy was threatened by the ambiguities of its own propagandist material, specifically through the public's perception of one ballet, Gyrowetz's *Les Pages du duc de Vendôme*, which was created to celebrate an important royal event. Chapter Three focuses on the reception of Rossini's *La Cenerentola* in Paris, and considers parallels between the world created in the opera and that of the Bourbon Restoration. It addresses the complex affinity between the monarchy's egoism and society's capacity for self-adulation, and it examines ways in which the theatrical world of the Restoration was integrated into that of the real-life ballroom. Using as its centrepiece Auber's *Gustave III, ou le bal masqué*, Chapter Four considers the representation of a regicide to be a reflection of the public's growing indifference to the monarchy. Chapter Five proposes symbolic interpretations of Rossini's cantata *Giovanna d'Arco* as the sacrificial victim of her king. In Chapter Six, Berlioz's *La Captive* is at the heart of an examination of issues about exile and captivity.

Unless clearly stated, the musical analyses contained within this thesis are interpretations from an early twenty-first-century perspective, rather than (whether contemporaneous reflections on the music itself were present or not), historical discussions about 'how the music was interpreted'. The analyses remain sensitive to historical accuracy in that they are deliberately allied to (or are suggestive of) the new cultural context I have uncovered. This approach is, therefore, responsible for the sometimes emotive style of musical analyses that follow.

Notable throughout my study is the obfuscation of key polarities that defined the French Restoration *Zeitgeist*: past was confused with present, reality with fiction, hedonism with introspection, death with life, freedom with imprisonment, and execution with assassination. Recognition of the interaction between these polarities is crucial to understanding the Restoration's aesthetic expression.

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of Clio. A Study of the Representation of History (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), and his *Romanticism and the Rise of History*.

Chapter One

Restoring the Monarchy:
French society and *pièces de circonstance*

Introduction

The Restoration of the Bourbon monarchy was imposed upon France by a decree of the Congress of Vienna in 1815.[1] Those who had favoured the Republic or the Napoleonic Empire were appalled at this imposition. The Restoration was, however, endorsed by aristocrats returning from exile, and by those factions of the French bourgeoisie that had preferred the status quo of the *ancien régime* to Napoleon's warring dictatorship. It also pleased an influential Catholic contingent who had been horrified by Napoleon's defamation of the Pope, and who led Bourbon sympathisers in the belief that the monarchy had been sanctioned by God. The continuing occupation of France by European peacekeeping troops (until October 1818) was an uncomfortable situation for all political and religious factions.

Barely two decades had passed between the execution of Louis XVI on 21 January 1793 and the definitive entry into Paris of his younger brother the Comte de Provence as Louis XVIII on 8 July 1815. Those two decades had left an indelible imprint on the consciousness of the French people, an imprint that was contaminated by memories of terror and warfare, exile and deprivation, and by misspent hope in France's Emperor Napoleon Bonaparte. Louis XVIII was first proclaimed King of France in 1814, but was ousted by

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[1] The Congress of Vienna (1814-1815) reorganised Europe, and was followed up, according to a system defined by the Treaty of the Quadruple Alliance, by the congresses of Aix-la-Chapelle (1818), Leybach (1821) and Verona (1822). The Congress of Verona determined that France should intervene in the Spanish crisis of 1823.

Napoleon during the so-called 'Hundred Days'.[2] He returned after the Congress of Vienna in 1815, and reigned until his death in 1824 (from gangrene amongst other things) only three years after the death of Napoleon on St Helena.[3]

Despite the comparatively temperate nature of Louis's reign, his attempts to bolster the Bourbon court's image by removing many of its anachronisms had little effect.[4] While Louis's reforms represented compromise on the one hand, he lost popularity through his insistent aggrandisement of several areas of the royal court (especially after the strong right-wing shift in the elections of November 1820). The provision of luxurious new uniforms within the court, and the unprecedented enlargement of the number of pageboys, for example, contradicted Louis's more conciliatory political moves, and only served to reiterate the extent to which he was out of touch with his people.[5] Louis's sovereignty had, in any case, been marred irrevocably by political humiliations such as the *Terreur blanche* and the *Chambre introuvable*.[6]

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[2] The 'Hundred Days' was the period of Napoleon's temporary return to France in 1814 after his exile in Elba (beginning 20 March 1814). This period ended when Napoleon was once again overthrown by the allied opposition and was exiled on St Helena.

[3] Napoleon died in May 1821 and Louis XVIII died in September 1824.

[4] Two important biographies of Louis are Philip Mansel, *Louis XVIII* (London: Blond and Briggs, 1981) and Evelyne Lever, *Louis XVIII* (Paris: Fayard, 1988). For broader discussions of the Restoration see Philip Mansel, *The Court of France, 1789-1830* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988) and Guillaume de Bertier de Sauvigny, *La Restauration* (Paris: Flammarion, 1955; rev. 1990). For contemporary accounts see Alphonse de Lamartine, *Histoire de la Restauration*, 8 vols (Paris: Pagnerre, V. Lecou, 1851-52), and Alfred de Nettement, *Histoire de la Restauration*, 8 vols (Paris: J. Lecoffre, 1860-1872), and his *Souvenirs de la Restauration* (Paris: J. Lecoffre, 1858).

[5] Louis XVIII's endeavours to pacify his political opposition (by lessening the gap between the spirit of the Empire and that of the royalist aristocracy) became increasingly overt; the new court regalia for each official rank resembled in colour those worn during Napoleon's reign. Charles X continued Louis's court reforms (but on a less sympathetic basis) into his reign. See Mansel, *The Court of France*, p. 122-4.

[6] The *Terreur Blanche* ('White Terror') of 1815-16, which began shortly after Napoleon's eventual departure for St Helena, constituted a series of provincial uprisings by frustrated Bourbon loyalists wishing to avenge the regicide of 1793 and the loss of the *ancien régime*. During this period of political retribution, the high-profile murders of Maréchal Brune by the crowds, and that of General Ramel in Toulouse (while he was trying to protect the Bonapartists), added fuel to the fire.

The *Chambre introuvable* (Unfindable Cabinet) referred to the government that convened between 7 October 1815 and 29 April 1816, and was dissolved on 5 September 1816. It was during this ministry (led by Richelieu), that Louis XVIII was forced to make the biggest concessions towards his Liberal opposition. The *Chambre Introuvable* acquired its name after an exasperated outburst from Louis XVIII in which he decried the contrariness of his cabinet ministers: 'In truth, such a cabinet seemed to be unfindable' ['En vérité, une pareille chambre semblait introuvable!'], 'Chambre', *La Grande encyclopédie, inventaire raisonné*, 31 vols (Paris: Société Anonyme de la Grand Encyclopédie, n. d.).

Following the death of the childless Louis XVIII came the controversial reign of his brother the Comte d'Artois as Charles X (from 1825 to 1830). Charles had earned infamy at the outset of the Revolution for his suggestion of turning the guns on the National Assembly after it showed signs of weakening to the Revolutionary cry.[7] As king of France he was to reverse many of Louis XVIII's liberal compromises. He enforced a vigorous tightening of control through his support of oppressive censorship, through restrictions on the voting franchise, and through his conservative emphasis on the re-establishment of Catholicism. His heavy-handed approach led to the deepening of popular distrust for the monarchy and for those who supported it, and this distrust resulted in increasing fluctuations of government majority towards the close of the 1820s.

The restrictive actions of Charles X confirmed the suspicions of Liberals about the excesses of the hereditary monarchy.[8] A workable solution was found only after the 1830 July Revolution when Louis-Philippe d'Orléans achieved a more serviceable compromise between opposition factions when he was crowned 'King of the French'. As next in line to the crown, the Orléans dynasty had long cast a shadow over the security of the Bourbon crown.[9] Louis-Philippe's father Philippe Egalité (Duc d'Orléans, and Louis XVI's cousin) had preceded his son in advocating a middle political ground and in expounding Thomas Paine's *The Rights of Man*. Worst of all, Philippe Egalité had voted for Louis XVI's execution in 1793.[10] Louis-Philippe's own support of the French Revolution in 1789, his

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[7] For details of Charles d'Artois's contributions to the political picture during the Revolutionary period, see Vincent W. Beach, *Charles X of France. His Life and Times* (Boulder Colorado: Pruet Publishing, 1971).

The Assemblée Nationale (National Assembly) was called on 17 June 1789 by the Third Estate (representatives of the social group with a Revolutionary bias). Having met in the *salle* of the Jeu de Paume (20 June), the Third Estate pressurised the king to unite the three political estates under one roof. The king bowed to pressure and asked the First Estate (the nobility) and the Second Estate (the clergy) to meet with the Third Estate (the 'people'). The resulting tripartite meeting called itself the Assemblée Nationale. It convened between 9 July 1789 and 30 September 1791, after which the Assemblée Nationale Législative took over. During its time, the 'Constituante' abolished the feudal system, and it voted in the *Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen* (finally accepted in 1791), see 'Assemblée Nationale', *La Grande encyclopédie*.

[8] 'Liberal' is used loosely here to encompass the diverse reformist political groups of the Restoration. Leading the 'Liberal' voices were the anti-monarchist Republicans (including the writers Jules Michelet, Alphonse de Lamartine and Victor Hugo) and the Constitutionists (led by the politicians Charles Maurice de Talleyrand and Adolphe Thiers, who were to take power after July 1830).

[9] See Mansel, *Louis XVIII*, p. 108.

[10] *The Rights of Man* (1791) was the radical manifesto with which Thomas Paine defended the French Revolution. See Dunn, *The Deaths of Louis XVI*, p. 115, fn. 65 for the opinions of Restoration thinkers about Philippe Egalité's regicidal bent.

enduring Bonapartist sympathies, his leniency on the issue of censorship, and his easiness with the public all influenced his election to the crown in 1830. He was crowned 'King of the French' rather than 'King of France' because he was perceived to value people above land. Nevertheless Louis-Philippe was to become something of a puppet king with limited constitutional power, and although he had not himself taken part in the regicidal decision of 1793, he was the cousin whom, throughout the Restoration, Louis XVIII had deemed the most dangerous rival amongst his family.

Alongside its painful adjustments, the early Restoration was characterised by the unusual frequency of Bourbon events. Initially, both the short return of the monarchy in 1814 and its definitive return in 1815 prompted widespread celebrations. Hopes for a Bourbon heir were aroused in 1816 through the marriage of Louis XVIII's nephew Charles-Ferdinand d'Artois, the Duc de Berry, to Marie-Caroline, grand-daughter of Ferdinand I of Naples and the Two Sicilies.[11] This, and the state visit of the new Duchesse de Berry's family (1817), were positive events, but the first three of the duchess's four pregnancies (1817, 1818, and 1819) resulted disappointingly in two infant deaths and one surviving girl; the Bourbons' hope for a male heir seemed impossible to realise. The dramatic assassination of Marie-Caroline's young husband on the steps of the Opéra on 14 February 1820 placed the future of the Bourbon monarchy in a precarious position. However, to the nation's astonishment, the duke's assassination was followed seven months later by the birth of a son from his marriage. The new-born boy was celebrated by Bourbons as the *enfant du miracle*, launching his mother, the Duchesse de Berry, as an icon of the age.

The impact of the assassination of the Duc de Berry was far-reaching. Theatres throughout France closed temporarily as a mark of respect. The Opéra, the scene of the crime, was placed in a compromising position, and a decision was quickly made to demolish the building itself. While a new building was being built for it in the rue Le Pelletier, the company was forced to find alternative accommodation.[12] This extravagant demonstration of

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[11] Marie-Caroline's grandmother Marie-Caroline of Austria was Marie-Antoinette's sister.

[12] Documents in the Archives Nationales show that plans for a new opera house had, in fact, been submitted to the Opéra administration by the architect Jouffroy before 1820. An adminstrative memo headed: 'Nouvelle Salle d'Opéra', of 20 October 1818 is sub-headed: 'Project for the Establishment of a New Theatre for the Académie Royale de Musique [...]. Necessity to Transfer the Present Opéra' ['Projet d'Etablissement d'un Nouveau Théâtre pour l'Académie Royal de Musique [...]. Nécessité de Déplacer l'Opéra Actuel'], Archives Nationales (shelfmark: AJ[13] 142/I).

Communications between representatives of theatres and the Maison du Roi on the matter of compensation for losses caused by their closure in 1820 were plentiful. One example reads: 'The

the Opera's Bourbon allegiance turned sour with a damaging loss of public support for its temporary home, the Théâtre Favart.

Although the 'miraculous' birth of the Duc de Bordeaux helped to alleviate some of the shock surrounding his father's assassination, the loss of the Duc de Berry had evoked empathetic memories of the execution of the Duc d'Enghien in 1804, and of the guillotining of Louis XVI in 1793.[13] From this position, the regicide of 1820 inspired an immense public affirmation of Bourbon support. Hopes that the general public might come to accept the edict of hereditary legitimacy were reinforced by the wave of propaganda that surrounded the timely birth of the duke's son.[14] The Bourbon monarchy's opposition, however, denigrated the euphoria surrounding the new-born boy as over-indulgent and out-moded propaganda. For these factions, the removal of the Duc de Berry had confirmed the dispensability of the Bourbon monarchy.

Other milestones of the Restoration included the Spanish military victory of Louis's other nephew (the childless Duc d'Angoulême, who had married Marie-Antoinette's surviving daughter) in 1823, the death of Louis XVIII in 1824, and the coronation of Charles X in May 1825. Yet, these events did not fire the public imagination with the same mixed

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director of the Porte-St-Martin demands an indemnity for costs incurred by him in the wake of the closure of the theatres after the assassination of the Duc de Berry' ['Le Dr. de la Porte-St-Martin demande l'indemnité de frais supportés par lui à la suite de la fermeture des théâtres après l'assassinat du duc de Berry'], Archives Nationales (shelfmark: O^3 1651 49). Similarly: 'M. Debief, Director of the Rights of the Poor, claims indemnities for the enforced closure in February' ['M. Debief - directeur du droit des indigents, réclame les indemnités de la clôture forcée de février'], Archives Nationales (shelfmark: O^3 1652 20). Newspapers published freely details of compensation claims. On 24 November 1820, the *Journal des théâtres* reported: 'We are assured that the grand theatres received from the minister of the Maison du Roi the payment orders for the indemnities that are accorded to them because of the closure that took place during two days in the month of last February.' ['On assure que les grands théâtres ont reçu du ministre de la Maison du Roi, les ordonnances de paiment pour les indemnités qui leur sont accordées en raison de la fermeture qui a eu lieu pendant deux jours au mois de février dernier.']

[13] Louis-Antoine-Henri Duc d'Enghien was the last in the line of the Condé dynasty. The family had long been closely related to the Bourbon-Vendôme branch. On the night of 15-16 March 1804, while exiled in Strasbourg, the Duc d'Enghien was kidnapped by French officers and taken to Vincennes, near Paris. He was condemned to death on 20 March and executed the next morning. The Bourbons ceremonially exhumed his body in 1816 (as they did for those of Louis XVI and Marie-Antoinette), and transferred it to a mausoleum designed by François-Joseph Bosio in the chapel at Vincennes. See 'Enghien', *Grand Larousse encyclopédique*, 12 vols (Paris: Larousse, 1960-1975).

[14] The fact that at the birth of the Duc de Bordeaux the arch-Bonapartist Maréchal Suchet and the former *émigré* Maréchal de Coigny were called upon to witness the attachment of the umbilical chord, indicated the monarchy's desire to corroborate its legitimacy claims. See Hemmings, *Theatre and State*, p. 179.

emotions and levels of symbolic reference as had the assassination of the Duc de Berry in 1820. For Bourbonists, then, the assassination can be regarded as the central crisis of the Restoration, and the birth of the Duc de Bordeaux can be seen as the central affirmation of Bourbon resilience.[15] However, as a consequence of the crown's backlash of political oppression against the Carbonarists (a militant reactionary group numbering around 50,000 members, including several elite politicians), public support for the monarchy was, paradoxically, to take a turn for the worse.[16] This repercussion brought the country dangerously close to revolt in 1820, resulting in increasing acrimony, heightened public distrust, and a loss of sympathy that worsened towards the Revolution of 1830.[17]

Throughout the Restoration, the attempts of the Bourbons to prop up the monarchy on its former iconic platform were no longer viewed with the level of respect or awe enjoyed during the *ancien régime*. As we shall see, the debunking of France's old icons exposed them to irony and placed them in a state of relegation, which meant that their allegorical function was no longer literal. In reaffirming their own legitimacy, in particular through the celebration of the birth of the *enfant du miracle*, with its attendant symbolism, the Bourbons were navigating the thorny religious issue of divine intervention (in the style of the *ancien régime*). If such old-world authority could be re-imposed on a populace that was crying out for new leadership and spiritual redemption, the Restoration stood a good chance of success. However, the irrational belief that the Bourbon monarchy had been literally 'heaven sent' had already worn dangerously thin. As much as the birth of a Bourbon heir served to promote the

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[15] As we shall see, the upsurge of Catholic values had led certain factions to regard the birth of the Duc de Bordeaux (after the death of his father) as being analogous to Christ's 'virgin birth', and (also like Jesus) the Duc de Bordeaux was professed to have been sent from God to save his people from disaster. The child became the youngest heir of the oldest branch of the Bourbons.

As part of his move to reinstitute Catholicism, religious pomp was very much the focus of Charles X's coronation in 1825. His demonstration of the religious values of the *ancien régime* went a long way to countering the reforms of the anti-clerical movement that had taken place immediately after the Revolution. After 1825 particularly, the priesthood once again became a major social force, as priests resumed the positions they had occupied before the Revolution at the head of choir-schools and colleges.

[16] Elie Decazes, Louis XVIII's favourite premier, and the man with most hope of establishing a reasonable political compromise, was accused of complicity with Napoleonic sympathisers and was forced to resign. For a study of the Carbonarist movement see Alan B. Spitzer, *Old Hatreds and Young Hopes: The French Carbonari against the Bourbon Restoration* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1971).

[17] The government foiled a plot to mount a coup against the crown (timed for 10 August 1820, the anniversary of the storming of the Tuileries in 1792). Rigorous theatrical and journalistic censorship was imposed with a ferocity that damaged the relationship between the monarchy and the theatre.

monarchy, it nevertheless aggravated pertinent questions about legitimacy, rationality and social equality, and thus promoted political instability.

The political and intellectual inheritance of the Restoration

One has to bear in mind that during this epoch M. Guizot, M. de Lamartine, M. Cousin, M. Jouffroy, M. Villemain, M. Odilon Barrot, M. Augustin Thierry, M. Casimir Delavigne, convened with Lainé, Royer-Collard and the illustrious metaphysician Maine de Biran about the reaction of the Idea against the Fact, and about the independence of the human spirit against the omnipotence of glory and genius, in such a way that for them the Restoration was a deliverance.

The Restoration was not only the throne of France returned to the Bourbon family, it was also the Pope returned to Rome, the Bourbons to Spain, her homeland given to Madame de Staël, word given to M. Lainé, the pen to M. Benjamin Constant and to M. de Chateaubriand; it was above all the ocean returned to commerce, the arm to agriculture, rest to the body, activity to the spirit, security to interests, and concordance to the world. Contemporaries who were the most disparate in opinion, in principles and in situations, spoke about it from the same angle.[18]

Reading Alfred de Nettement's optimistic description of the Restoration, one that emphasised the benefits of release from warfare and constitutional change as much as intellectual freedom, it would be easy to imagine that the Bourbons had a promising future. However,

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[18] 'Il faut se souvenir qu'à cette époque M. Guizot, M. de Lamartine, M. Cousin, M. Jouffroy, M. Villemain, M. Odilon Barrot, M. Augustin Thierry, M. Casimir Delavigne, se rencontraient avec Lainé, Royer-Collard et l'illustre métaphysicien Maine de Biran, dans cette réaction de l'idée contre le fait, de l'indépendance de l'esprit humain contre l'omnipotence de la gloire et du génie, de sorte que la Restauration fut pour eux une délivrance.

La Restauration, ce n'était pas seulement le trône de France rendu à la famille de Bourbon, c'était encore le Pape rendu à Rome, les Bourbons à l'Espagne, la patrie rendue à Madame de Staël, la parole à M. Lainé, la plume à M. Benjamin Constant comme à M. de Chateaubriand; c'était surtout l'Océan rendu au commerce, les bras à l'agriculture, le repos aux corps, l'activité aux esprits, la sécurité aux intérêts, la concorde au monde. Les contemporains les plus séparés d'opinions, de principes, de situations, en ont parlé dans le même sens.' Nettement, Alfred de, *Souvenirs de la Restauration* (Paris: Lecoffre, 1858), p. 47-8.

From the retrospective standpoint of his 1858 publication date, Nettement might well have added the names of other leading intellectuals who had experienced the Restoration, such as Pierre-Simon Ballanche, and Prosper de Barante, Alexandre Dumas, François-Joseph Fétis, Théophile Gautier, Victor Hugo, Prosper Mérimée, Jules Michelet, Edgar Quinet, Stendhal (Henri Beyle), and Alfred de Vigny.

diverse factors resulting from the heritage of the Enlightenment, the French Revolution, the regicidal aftershock (of January 1793), and Napoleon's Empire, muddied the potential for a positive outcome for the Restoration.[19] Although Nettement identified an important common ground between people of even 'the most disparate' opinion, while society could be described as conciliatory, it remained essentially divided. As Nettement indicated, throughout the Restoration, members of the French intellectual elite, then, were entrenched in their analyses of the Restoration, of the Bourbon monarchy, and of the failure of the Empire. They expressed their opinions about constitutional ethics and about the rationale of Bourbon claims for legitimacy in a vast quantity of literature, and their concerns were echoed in the broader social environment.[20]

The Parisian intelligentsia was prompted by the recent succession of regimes into a freer, more broad-sweeping sociological and political self-awareness, and it was wary of any political commitment. The need for self-examination was urgent: considering the continually shifting relation between society and its leaders, there was constant danger of its further dissolution. The French public was faced with important questions about how to deal with the universal sense of loss incurred, ironically, through the losses of both Louis XVI and the Bourbon nemesis Napoleon, and in broader terms through the loss of the *ancien régime* and the Empire. The public was also disturbed by the brutality of its own manifestations (in Revolution and war). How, in this context, was society to redefine its own needs, and how could its citizens be governed yet retain a level of autonomy? What, as Tolstoy would later ask, 'constituted power' for the French nation?[21]

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[19] These undated comments were probably written in winter 1814 or spring 1815 as they were published between statements that were dated May 1814 and July 1815.

[20] Key works included: Pierre-Simon Ballanche's *L'Homme sans nom* (Paris: P. Didot l'aîné, 1820), and Jules Michelet's *Histoire de la Révolution française* (Paris: Gallimard, 1952); orig. (1847-53).

The intellectuals of the Restoration did not solve the socio-psychological upset behind Parisian society's two-fold sense of loss (meaning Louis XVI and Napoleon), as Christopher Prendergast points out for Parisians of the late-nineteenth century: 'On the one hand, there was that brand of nostalgia for *vieux Paris* which was for the most part little more than a reactionary demand for a return to the more secure and hierarchical taxonomies of the past (the city as 'readable' by virtue of everyone being in, and perceivable as being in, their 'proper' place). Or there was the more openly political version of an intelligible ordered city of the kind we get in Barrès's fantasy of recovering an absent centre of control through a return of the spirit of Napoleon I.' Christopher Prendergast, *Paris and the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge Mass.: Blackwell, 1992), p. 15.

[21] Tolstoy dwelt for some time during the 1860s on 'the cardinal question of history' which he proposed to be: 'what constitutes power?' He took up a hard-hitting stance on the ideas of cause and effect, goal, progress and leadership. According to Tolstoy, the force that moves nations is driven

What, for Enlightenment minds, had been moralistic speculation now became part of the uncertain sociological response of the Restoration.[22] The burgeoning imperialistic view of the world proposed by philosophers of the Enlightenment, and implemented by Napoleon, had awakened French society to the world of the inner self, to inner desire and, therefore, to self-gratification. As Linda Orr suggests in her examination of France's quest for a successful leadership:

> Mme de Staël came the closest to saying it outright: popular consensus was a form of social (self-) seduction. Democratic society manages its own legitimacy without arbitrary force by means of a kind of *faire désirer*: "It is necessary to elicit desire [give birth, *le faire naître*] instead of commanding obedience, and even if, with reason, the government wants certain institutions to be established, it must manage [*ménager*] enough public opinion to give the impression of according what it [*opinion publique*] desires.[23]

By Germaine de Staël's reckoning, then, *opinion publique* needed to be seduced into compliance. It needed to be allured by a leadership that could 'faire désirer' (make to want), rather than have complicity enforced upon it. De Staël acknowledged society's desire to 'appear' to arrive at an informed choice, while its government might only 'give the impression' of according what society desires. Her comments implied a supposition that even a democratic French society was content to submit itself willingly to extortion, to hoodwinking, and to being manipulated by a leader more subtle and more cunning than itself. France's leaders needed to understand the extent to which society was informed and

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by the combined actions of all the people who participate in particular events. See Leo Tolstoy, *War and Peace*, trans. Rosemary Edmonds (orig. 1869; London: Penguin, 1982), 'Epilogue', p. 1425.

[22] Orr describes the historical discourse of the nineteenth century in Flaubertian terms: 'the mobile monster of a discourse will admit of no outside, no rising above it, no crawling beneath it. A strange kind of historical object, it is one of the most important discoveries or creations of nineteenth-century France. Metaphors churn from it and help construct it - mostly the physiology of digestion seen from both ends of the body. It was given names, identities, concepts. The names can be literal, such as socialism, democracy, communism, to describe the post-revolutionary phenomenon of communality. The nineteenth-century term *le peuple* sometimes seems close to seizing it, or the term *public opinion*. *Bourgeois* has also been used to capture that effect of homogenizing society [...]. The forms evolve from the familiar to the horrible, or, in reverse, the horrible becomes absorbed more and more into everyday life. Flaubert called it *la bêtise moderne*', Orr, *Headless History*, p. 23-4.

[23] Orr, *Headless History*, p. 19-20. Orr cites Germaine de Staël's *De la littérature considérée dans ses rapports avec les institutions sociales*, ed. Paul van Tieghem, 2 vols (Geneva: Droz, 1959), vol. 1, p. 31. Germaine de Staël-Holstein (1766-1817) was born Germaine Necker, and was the daughter of the Genevan banker Jacques Necker, who became one of Louis XVI's most controversial ministers.

autonomous, and, importantly for constitutional concerns, the extent to which society was vulnerable to the suggestions of propagandist influences and to the marketing of ideas.

De Staël's views on the submission of society through seduction had been anticipated by Enlightenment writings on rationalism, and were echoed in Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel's perspective on the delimitation of freedom. Like De Staël's comments on social seduction, Hegel's philosophy on freedom through submission offered an alternative to freedom through revolution. As a native German, Hegel's first-hand experience of the rise of the formidable Prussian state matched the exhilarating spectacle of the French Revolutionary events, which he had viewed from a safe distance. He had described the French Revolution as the outcome of a build-up of rational thought that marked an important step towards the establishment of a rational society. The legitimate ruler of a rational society, he suggested, must be chosen or elected through rational and mutual consent. In this idealistic view of legitimacy, Hegel echoed early Enlightenment thought from the close of the seventeenth century: 'the criterion of legitimacy is mutual consent, and the resulting civil constitution is to be construed in contractual terms.'[24] Criticism of the principle of hereditary monarchy was inherent in this analysis.[25] Hegel's essentially democratic sentiment was contradictory to his professed admiration for the dictatorial Napoleon. His eloquent and emotional reaction to Napoleon's first appearance in Germany (which was under French control from 1806-1814) belied the depth of his regard:

> I saw Napoleon, the soul of the world, riding through the town on a reconnaissance. It is indeed a wonderful sensation to see, concentrated in a point, sitting on a horse, an individual who overruns the world and masters it.[26]

For Hegel, Napoleon embodied the free spirit at its most magnificent, and in his eyes the emperor's overthrow had amounted to the destruction of an immense genius by mediocrity. He felt that the submission of the French nation to Napoleon's authority had been

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[24] Roger Scruton *A Short History of Modern Philosophy* (London: Routledge, 1984), p. 203.

[25] Hegel reflected on the French Revolution in *Die Germanische Welt*: 'This was a magnificent dawn. All thinking beings joined in celebrating this epoch. A sublime feeling ruled that time, and enthusiasm of the spirit thrilled through the world, as if we had now finally come to the real reconciliation of the divine with the world', Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, *Die Germanische Welt*, ed. G. Lasson (Leipzig: n. pub., 1920), p. 926, quoted in Charles Taylor, *Hegel* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975), p. 424.

a direct response to Napoleon's charisma. Yet, Hegel's emotional standpoint stood in opposition to his own rational ideals of a society that acts on its free will.

Hegel's admiration for Napoleon was echoed widely among leading French artistic and intellectual circles: Berlioz, for instance, was a great admirer, as were the historian Augustin Thierry and the politician Adolphe Thiers. Louis-Philippe d'Orléans was to indicate his political liberalism by buying a painting of Napoleon from the influential artist Horace Vernet, who was himself an ardent Bonapartist.[27] Alfred de Nettement's reference to the Empire's 'omnipotence of glory and genius', cited above, betrayed his own reluctant admiration of the Emperor's crushing oligarchy. Certainly the resilient devotion to Napoleon's memory of a strong French contingent was manifest throughout the Restoration in intellectual as well as proletariat circles. The Comtesse Adelaïde de Boigne, discussing Napoleon's overthrow, wrote:

> In its turn, posterity will forget the aberrations of this sublime genius and his pettiness. [...]. When a figure like that of Bonaparte emerges during the centuries, it is not necessary to preserve the little obscurities which could tarnish some of his rays; but it is indeed necessary to explain how his contemporaries, having been once completely dazzled, have ceased to find those rays vivifying and gain nothing from them but a feeling of suffering.[28]

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[26] Hegel, *Briefe von und an Hegel* (Leipzig: 1887), vol. 2, p. 68 (letter to Niethammer, from Hegel in Jena, 13 October 1806) in Hegel's *Political Writings,* trans. T. M. Knox, intr. Z. A. Pelczynski (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1964), p. 7.

[27] Wright, *Painting and History*, p. 27. Many leading artists already stood in defiance of the monarchy. The painter Horace Vernet, for example, held regular Bonapartist meetings at his studio throughout the Restoration. On 21 July 1821, after news of the Emperor's death had been circulated, the Duchesse de Broglie wrote to Prosper de Barante: 'They gather in crowds at the print shops' Prosper de Barante, *Souvenirs du Baron de Barante...1782-1866*, 8 vols (Paris: Calmann Lévy, 1890-1907), vol. 2, p. 508, cited in Hemmings, *Theatre and State*, p. 180. Members of the secret Bonapartist group *Vautours de Bonaparte* carried canes of which the handles were decorated with portraits of Napoleon, André Castelot, *Le Grand Siècle à Paris* (Paris: Perrin, 1963; rev. 1990), p. 196.

[28] 'A son tour, la postérité oubliera les aberrations de ce sublime génie et ses petitesses [...]. Quand une figure comme celle de Bonaparte surgit dans les siècles, il ne faut pas conserver les petites obscurités qui pouraient ternir quelques-uns de ses rayons; mail il faut bien expliquer comment les contemporains, tout en étant éblouis, avaient cessé de trouver ces rayons vivifiants et n'en éprouvaient plus qu'un sentiment de souffrance.' Adelaïde de Boigne, *Mémoires de la comtesse de Boigne, née d'Osmond. Récits d'une tante*, 2 vols (Paris: Mercure de France, Le Temps retrouvé, 1999), vol. 1, p. 329; orig. (Paris: Plon, Nourrit et Cie, 1907), 4 vols.

The Restoration was censorious in its approach to references to Napoleon in the arts, although Napoleon's character was reproduced vicariously in iconography on the stages of the Parisian lyric theatres (in one ballet in particular, as we shall see in Chapter Two).[29] For the Bourbons, the urge to find a convincing replacement for Napoleon's charismatic authority became a persistent imperative. Eulogies, such as Hegel's about Napoleon riding on his horse were matched after 1814 by similar expressions of enthusiasm about Louis XVIII on *his* horse, exacerbating the leadership dilemma.[30] However, not everybody was convinced by this Bourbon propaganda. Stendhal, for one, wrote 'Happily, the Bourbons had no influence on public opinion', and he ridiculed Louis XVIII as 'old, infirm, and incapable of getting on his horse or, in a word, of making a brilliant figure.[31]

Expressions of the desire for credible leadership (such as those of Stendhal, Nettement, De Staël and Hegel) were, however, not only rejections of the Bourbon kings, but also admissions of the failure of the French electorate to guide themselves towards a viable system of government. For Bourbon sympathisers who mourned the execution of Louis XVI, his frail brother Louis XVIII offered little reassurance: under his guidance, support for the monarchy wore paper-thin. In whom could the French public lay their trust if icons of leadership were apparently interchangeable or open to ridicule? Ultimately, society had to learn to know and accept itself before it could entrust its well-being into the hands of any individual. As we shall see throughout this study, during the uncertain course of the Restoration, the conflicting passions that arose between those who longed for the *ancien régime*, and those who sought alternatives, were irreconcilable.

Those French factions that were fixed into a hopeless intellectual and political stalemate, tortured by their disregarded ideals, were the inverse of others whose ethical disinterest led them to ignore the nation's political impasse, instead entering into a world of hedonistic indulgence. Thus, France was caught between the polarities of intellectual

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[29] See Rosset, *Collection de Vinck*, vol. 5, no. 10325 for details about the secret production of engravings at the time of Napoleon's death. Many biographies of Napoleon and histories of the Empire nevertheless appeared during the Restoration.

[30] Several propagandist lithographs show Louis XVIII mounted on horseback, dressed decoratively, see Rosset, *Collection de Vinck*, vol. 5, no. 9847-8.

[31] 'les Bourbons n'eurent hereusement aucune influence sur l'opinion publique. Le feu roi était vieux, infirme, incapable de monter à cheval, de faire un mot brillante figure' Stendhal [pseud. Henri Beyle], *Courrier anglais*, étab. and préf. Henri Marineau (Paris: Le Divan, 1935-36), vol. 4, p. 20 (November 1824).

reflection and egotistical hedonism. The metaphorical representations of these polarities as imprisonment and freedom will, therefore, permeate later chapters.

Looking back on the Restoration from after the watershed year of 1830, Liberal writers analysed the earlier period as an active preparation for the events of July 1830. Certainly, among those who had lived through the Restoration, there was an inclination to describe the procrastinatory nature of the period, and to emphasise the levels of intellectual and social repression, as well as conservatism that had suffocated society's aspirations towards progress and change. Dumas (having lived through the Restoration) was to express the view of that period retrospectively through his character Edmond Dantès, the hero of *Le Comte de Monte Cristo*. Dumas portrays Dantès as a witness to the repressive policies of the Restoration government, and to the fermenting desire for independence from it.[32] Dantès experienced the Restoration through the bars of the prison on the Château d'If; his metaphorical darkness was relieved only by the secretly procured teachings of the Abbé Faria. Both Dantès and Faria were imprisoned solely on the suspicion that they were Napoleonic sympathisers. Brilliant and sagacious, the Abbé supplied Dantès with the intellectual and financial means to avenge his captivity. His escape from prison was only possible after nearly fifteen years of painstaking tunnelling, a period that had (as it transpired), also spanned the Restoration. Written after 1830, Dumas's story of revenge echoed a collectively-held suspicion that the Restoration had amounted to a backward step. Like many French intellectuals who, during the early July Monarchy, found comparative relief from the over-zealous censorship and increasing religious impositions of the Restoration, Dantès was able to breathe freely after 1830.

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[32] Alexandre Dumas (*père*) was among other repressed intellectuals who found their voices during the first years of Louis-Philippe's reign. He was inspired to write *Le Comte de Monte Cristo* (Paris: 1844), after having read *Le Diamant et la vengeance*, a short story based on a police document. The collection to which *Le Diamant* belonged, *Mémoires tirées des archives de la police de Paris*, 6 vols (Paris: Levasseur, 1838) by Jacques Peuchet, was published posthumously. Peuchet had worked as archivist for the *Préfecture de Police* during the Restoration. The hero of *Le Diamant*, M. Picaud, was arrested in 1807 on suspicion of harbouring royalist sympathies, and was released only after the Hundred Days, ravaged and unrecognisable. In prison Picaud had befriended a clergyman who left him the vast fortune that was to serve him for his revenge. Details of the story are provided in the introduction to *Le Comte de Monte Cristo* (Paris: Pocket, 1995), p. 9-10; orig. (Paris: 1844). Ironically, then, Dumas's story of revenge was a political mirror of its Napoleonic stimulus. Dantès's imprisonment and plotting for revenge was reminiscent of the imprisonment of sympathisers of those Carbonarists who, soon after the assassination of the Duc de Berry in 1820, were arrested on suspicion of revolutionary intentions against the king. Dumas's *Monte Cristo* was also to have an influence on the musical world, see Karin Pendle, 'Scribe, Auber, and the Count of Monte Cristo', *The Music Review*, XXXIV/3-4 (1973), p. 210-20.

Similarly, theatre critics of the 1830s expressed their awareness that the Restoration had amounted to a period of incubation. In the preface to his *Théâtre moderne* (1836), M. A. Delaforest, editor of the right-wing *Gazette de France*, theatre critic and censor, described the period from around 1820-1835 (the scope of his book) as:

> [A] remarkable period, because it comprised the parallel of theatre and politics, action and denouement, the prescience and the proof of the social and literary revolution which restarted during the Restoration, which was accomplished in 1830.[33]

Whereas for Dantès and Delaforest the Restoration represented an interval of preparation, for those mourning the lost hopes for a Republic or Empire it represented a period of anti-climax and missed opportunity. For many French then, the post-traumatic period of the Restoration embodied a *Zeitgeist* of social stasis in which the proletariat lacked the will to recognise or act upon the opportunities open to it. Bearing in mind such perceptions (and in stark contrast to Alfred de Nettement's commendatory description of the Restoration), for many, the Restoration reinstated an unwelcome, incalculably weakened hereditary monarchy, which imposed a setback to embryonic aspirations for a successful new society.

The origins of the Restoration's historical-mindedness

Despite the different needs of the Restoration's political groups, they held in common a sense of loss that was to be substituted gradually by history. As Roger Scruton puts it: 'To those who had lost the vision of eternity, the idea of history was of obsessive concern. A philosophy that accorded to history and to the human all those dignities which had previously been conferred on the timeless and the divine, recommended itself instinctively to their

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[33] 'période remarquable, puisqu'elle comprend le parallélisme théâtral et politique, l'action et le dénouement, la prévoyance et la preuve de la révolution sociale et littéraire qui a recommencé sous la Restauration, qui s'est accomplie en 1830' M. A. Delaforest, *Théâtre moderne. Cours de littérature dramatique*, vol. 1 (1822-1824 incl.), vol. 2 (1825-1828 incl.), (Paris: Allardin, 1836), vol. 1, p. iv. Delaforest was the editor of the *Gazette de France*. In 1828 he was to become one of the government's most influential theatrical censors.

disorientated consciences.'[34] The cult of historicism, therefore, reflected the emotional inheritance of the Restoration public after nearly thirty years of political upheaval and warfare. Importantly, the transition in historical representation from that of the timeless and divine to that of precarious humanity characterised the Restoration, and was ultimately to justify the failure of the monarchy.[35]

In the most primitive sense before the Revolution, the nature of French historical perception (or 'reliving the past') had long been founded on an understanding of monarchical history. In the eyes of the Restoration public, history was therefore essentially a meditation on a chain of extraordinary monarchical successions, a past cultural phenomenon. The restored Bourbons approved and encouraged this perception, which created a nostalgic view of the monarchy, and which lent credence to assertions about Bourbon legitimacy. For Bourbonists, the association of the present monarch with those of the past offered a means of anchoring the French population to its leader. From this standpoint, the revival of interest in medieval and early-Renaissance kings was intended to recommend the values of feudalism (the obeisance of the population to its owner-master).[36]

As Alfred de Nettement suggested, the intellectual French public of the Restoration was evidently conscious of its own historical preoccupation:

> These sorts of illusion are found time and again in history. Men are disposed to believe that things will happen the way they have already happened; they believe they can predict when in fact they will do nothing but remember. Already this parallelism began with the history of England and the history of France, from which one has later concluded things erroneously. Louis XVI had been analogous with Charles I, decapitated at the palace of Whitehall, as a result of a regicidal parliamentary vote, which preceded the Convention in this bloody violation of royal majesty. One gave to Robespierre the honour of assigning to him the role of Cromwell, and certainly he surpassed him by a long way in the number and the atrocity of his crimes [...]. If Louis XVI was Charles I, and Robespierre was Cromwell, why should Bonaparte not be Monk? Why should Louis XVIII not be Charles II? That seems natural and

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[34] Scruton, *A Short History of Modern Philosophy*, p. 212.

[35] Beth Wright points out that Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres's *The Apotheosis of Homer* (1827) was one of the final bastions of the old style of allegorical representation, in *Painting and History*, p. 1-4.

[36] See J. B. Bullen, *The Myth of the Renaissance in Nineteenth-century Writing* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), and Janet Cox-Rearick, 'Imagining the Renaissance: The Nineteenth-Century Cult of François I as Patron of Art', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 50 (1997), p. 207-50 (many thanks to Robert Knecht for steering me towards this article).

> commodious, and one believed in this historical identity at a certain epoch, because it was agreeable to believe in it.[37]

Nettement's commentary highlights not only the propensity of French intellectuals to allegorise their current and past leaders using key historical figures, but it also emphasises their eagerness to compare French history to that of the British Isles. Nettement's comment that 'it was agreeable to believe in' such historical allegories suggests that the parallels were related to the need for entertainment as much as to intellectual or propagandist concerns.

Two historical paths, the actual past (fact) and the narration of the past (representation) dominated the work of early-Romantic historians and artists: 'History [...] comprehends not less what has happened, than the narration of what has happened'.[38] During the early nineteenth century, the narration or representation of the past was at the mercy of limited primary resources, as much as it was influenced by Enlightenment philosophies. Ignorance and preference vied with rationalism to produce a fabricated and idealistic historical perception of Europe's past. After the fall of the Napoleonic Empire, France's historical preoccupation (its 'nostalgic reversion to the national past') was inspired in part by Napoleon's adoption of the hegemonic ideals of ancient Egypt, and by his propagandist references to the Roman Empire.[39] Certainly, as we shall see, the residue of Napoleon's iconic status posed problems for the Bourbons, who attempted to eclipse his historical images with their own. For those opposed to the Bourbon monarchy, history was, ironically, also to prove an apt medium for establishing their own legitimacy. The belief in historical allegory was also suggestive of an emotional need for comfort, for 'parental guidance' at a time of

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[37] 'Ces sortes de mirages se retrouvent souvent dans l'histoire. Les hommes sont disposés à croire que les choses se passeront comme elles se sont déjà passées; ils croient prévoir quand ils ne font que se souvenir. Déjà commençait ce parallélisme de l'histoire d'Angleterre et de l'histoire de France dont on devait tirer plus tard tant d'inductions trompeuses. Louis XVI avait été l'analogue de Charles 1er, décapité sur la place de White-Hall, en vertu du vote du parlement régicide, qui avait précédé la Convention dans cette sanglante violation de la majesté royale. On faisait à Robespierre l'honneur de lui assigner le rôle de Cromwell, et certes il le surpassa de beaucoup par le nombre et l'atrocité de ces crimes [...]. Si Louis XVI était Charles 1er, Robespierre Cromwell, pourquoi Bonaparte ne serait-il pas Monk? Pourquoi Louis XVIII ne serait-il pas Charles II? Cela paraissait naturel et commode, et l'on croyait à cette identité historique dans un certain temps, parce qu'il était agréable d'y croire.' Nettement, *Souvenirs de la Restauration*, p. 109-10. George Monk was one of Cromwell's leading military men. However, after he became dictator of Scotland, Monk helped to restore Charles II to the throne; this was an action for which he was highly recompensed.

[38] Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, *The Philosophy of History*, trans. J. Sibree (New York: Dover, 1956), p. 60.

[39] Bann, *Romanticism and the Rise of History*, p. 67-68.

change, for a need to eliminate the Restoration's historical isolation by identifying common ground with previous historical periods.

There was also an important socio-psychological reason behind the French people's heightened interest in history. The public of the Restoration suffered from a deep-seated sense of having inherited the short straw of actual historical experience: it was enduring a painful anticlimax after stimulating times. One pertinent comment to this effect was made to Prosper de Barante in 1825 by Albertine de Broglie, daughter of Germaine de Staël: 'History is the Muse of our time; we are, I think, the first who have understood the past, and that is largely the result of the fact that our own impressions are not strong enough.'[40]

The cultural historian Stephen Bann acknowledges the fact that the French Restoration's historical preoccupation was contextualised in the world of public amusement and entertainment, in the panorama, the diorama and other public spectacles (he connects museums and muses as focuses of spectacle and idolisation). The French public undoubtedly sought escapism in all manner of voyeuristic entertainment, developing an excessive thirst for enjoyment and release, and flavouring its entertainments on and off the stage with historical references. This constant need for distraction from reality lends credence to the idea that the French public of the Restoration had been short-changed in actual historical experience. What impact, I will ask in successive chapters, did French society's hedonistic appetite have on the re-installed Bourbon monarchy?

Although France's political divisions were irreconcilable during the Restoration, a basis for consensus was reflected in its cultural output. In a climate that questioned monarchic legitimacy, it is understandable that society's concerns were reflected in cultural activities in France after 1815, most particularly in the persuasive vogue of historical representation. The need for credible national leadership was constantly addressed in theatrical works (as in Daniel François Esprit Auber's *La Muette de Portici* of 1828, which told the historical story of a peasant revolt).[41] In such examples, the real-life sovereign fell into the wings of the public consciousness; the historical sovereign assumed a front-of-stage

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[40] 'L'histoire est la muse de notre temps; nous sommes, je crois, les premiers qui avons compris le passé, et cela vient beaucoup de ce que nos propres impressions ne sont pas assez fortes' from a letter dated 21 June 1825 in Barante, *Souvenirs*, vol. 3, p. 248, cited in Bann, *The Clothing of Clio*, p. 2 and p. 7.

[41] For a background to *La Muette* see Herbert Schneider and Nicole Wild, *La Muette de Portici: Kritische Ausgabe des Librettos und Dokumentation der ersten Inszenierung* (Tübingen: Stauffenburg Verlag, 1993).

position. Reflecting the need for a common understanding, historical allegory provided a common language, a shared currency of symbols and a reference-base from which royalists and non-royalists alike could search for answers.

The exploitation of the new-found public fascination with history was essential for the Bourbon propaganda machine, but in the context of the new social environment, achieving this control posed many difficulties, as will be described. The failure of the Restoration monarchy to provide any real interest in its associations with its ancestral heroes cast doubt on its self-justification. While promoters of the Bourbons were proposing serious (if irrational) links between the royal family's own actions and those of their forebears, they encountered ever-stronger resistance to do with, as we shall see, the ambiguous reception of the embedded propagandist iconography. If the Bourbons were able to flatter themselves with historical icons, their opposition was able to countermand those efforts with their own brand of historical narrative: history ('what had gone before') provided a multi-faceted tool for creating alternative belief systems.

The vogue for historical-mindedness served France's political extremes to equal satisfaction, but it also fed a prevailing taste for voyeuristic spectacle, and pandered to the more subjective Romantic aesthetic. Thus political and aesthetic issues became increasingly entangled. It was particularly in the congregational atmosphere of Paris's theatrical venues (the same arena that had served so clearly as a powerhouse of Bourbon propaganda during the previous century) that this entanglement of political and aesthetic interests was most obvious during and immediately after the Restoration. Theatre was, after all, one of the central mechanisms for social interaction and for the absorption of new ideas. In the theatre, historical propaganda could still reach its broadest audience, and Paris thrived on such an all-embracing medium. In order to illustrate the atmosphere in these public spaces it will be useful at this stage to outline the anatomy of the theatrical scene in Paris during the Restoration.

The anatomy and aesthetics of the Restoration theatres

The physiognomy of Paris's theatre industry during the early-Romantic period was relatively stable. Under Napoleon, the Parisian theatres had suffered administrative and financial constraints, and in many cases (including the Porte-St-Martin) closure.[42] During the Empire, following Napoleon's culling of theatres in 1806 and 1807, the number of Parisian stages had been limited to eight: four primary venues (the Opéra, the Opéra-Comique, the Théâtre Français and the Théâtre Italien) and four secondary venues or *théâtres des boulevards* (the Ambigu-Comique, the Gaîté, the Variétés and the Vaudeville).[43] Although most other Parisian theatres remained closed after 16 August 1807, a fifth primary theatre, the Odéon, which had been destroyed by fire in 1799, was reopened in 1808.[44]

With the Restoration, the Bourbons inherited the administration of the five primary theatres, the handful of secondary theatres, and various smaller unofficial and suburban theatres. Although a labyrinth of laws continued to govern the output of each theatre, and although the stringent regulation of theatrical productions was evidently as desirable to the Bourbons as it had been to the Emperor, the monarchy demonstrated its leniency by re-opening and nurturing theatres that had fallen under Napoleon's decrees.[45] Thus it could be seen to 'restore' popular institutions that the previous regime had destroyed. Among the Restoration's developments were the re-emergence of the Porte-St-Martin, the opening of the Panorama-Dramatique and the Nouveautés (both of which became shelters for young writers), the opening and protection of Gymnase-Dramatique (which went each summer with the

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[42] Warnings about the effects of Napoleon's repressive ordonnances were described in the *Journal de Paris* (15 June 1807).

[43] Maurice Albert, *Les Théâtres des boulevards, 1789-1848* (Paris: Société de l'imprimerie et de librairie, 1902), p. 220-221. Other staple publications about the physionomy of Paris's theatrical world during the early nineteenth century are: Hemmings, *The Theatre Industry*; his *Theatre and State*; McCormick, *Popular Theatres*; Nicole Wild, *Dictionnaire des théâtres parisiens au XIXe siècle: les théâtres et la musique* (Paris: Aux Amateurs de Livres, 1989); M. Rouvières, *Histoire des théâtres et des lieux d'amusements* (Paris: Librairie des Etrangers [post-1838]).

[44] For a detailed study of the Odéon see Mark Everist, *Music drama at the Paris Odéon, 1824-1828* (Berkeley and London: University of California Press, 2002).

[45] Albert, *Les Théâtres des boulevards*, p. 220-221.

Duchesse de Berry to Dieppe), the appointment of two high-level administrators (Pixérécourt and Dubois) to the Gaîté, and the reconstruction of the theatre of the Cirque Olympique.[46]

The Opéra stood at the helm of a French opera tradition that had evolved extensively since the time, over a century before, when composers such as Lully and Rameau had held the monopoly on national operatic styles.[47] It was at the Opéra that Grand Opera was emerging as a through-composed genre, with its emphasis on local colour, its more dramatically integrated use of the chorus, its dramatic tableaux at the ends of acts, and with recitative that was submerged into the larger musical fabric. It was in Grand Opera, too, that the Romantic scene painters such as Ciceri came to the fore.[48]

The inauguration of the Gymnase-Dramatique in late 1820 (patronised for a time by the Duchesse de Berry, and so nicknamed 'Théâtre de Madame') was an important moment. This new theatre posed a threat to existing secondary theatres, rivalling their box-office takings with popular works by Eugène Scribe.[49] With the emergence of the Gymnase, the Porte-St-Martin and the Variétés were no longer at the forefront of the secondary venues in terms of receipts.[50] This was good news for the Opéra because the repertoire at the Porte-St-

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[46] For details see Albert's chapter 'Les Théâtres des boulevards sous la Restoration (1814-1824)' in *Les Théâtres des boulevards*, and Odile Krakovitch's, *Les Pièces de théâtre soumises à la censure (1800-1830). Inventaire des manuscrits des pièces (F^{18} 581 à 668) et des procès-verbaux des censeurs (F^{21} 966 à 995)* (Paris: Archives Nationales, 1982), p. 18.

[47] For contemporary studies of the Opéra see William Crosten, *French Grand Opera* (New York: King Crown Press, 1948); Jane Fulcher, *The Nation's Image* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987); Patrick Barbier, *La vie quotidienne à l'Opéra au temps de Rossini et de Balzac, 1800-1850* (Paris: Hachette, 1987), trans. Robert Luoma as *Opera in Paris, 1800-1850: A Lively History* (Oregon: Amadeus Press, 1995); Janet Johnson, *The Théâtre Italien and Opéra and Theatrical Life in Restoration Paris*, 3 vols (PhD, University of Chicago, 1988); Anselm Gerhard, *Die Verstädterung der Oper: Paris und das Musiktheater des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Weimar: J. B. Metzler, 1992), trans. Mary Whittall as *The Urbanization of Opera, Music Theater in Paris in the Nineteenth Century* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1998).

[48] See Nicole Wild, *Décors et costumes du XIXe siècle à l'Opéra de Paris*, Catalogues de la Bibliothèque de l'Opéra, 2 vols (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, 1987), and Catherine Join-Diéterle, *Les Décors de l'Opéra de Paris à l'époque romantique* (Paris: Picard, 1988).

[49] The Gymnase-Dramatique opened on 23 December 1820, and was swiftly renamed Théâtre de Madame la Duchesse de Berry, a title that was retained through to the end of the Restoration. The theatre was known familiarly as 'Théâtre de Madame'. For an examination of the libretti of Scribe see Karin Pendle, *Eugène Scribe and French Opera of the Nineteenth Century*, Studies in Musicology, 6 (Michigan: Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Research Press, 1979).

[50] When in 1818 the administration of the Maison du roi assumed joint control of the two theatres, the Opéra was in a far stronger financial position than the Théâtre Italien. The Opéra's accounts for 1817 had been more than satisfactory despite the old-fashioned nature of its repertory, and although the reviews in Paris's journals (led by hardened critics such as Charles Maurice of the *Courrier des*

Martin, with its Romantic historical themes and eclectic melodramas, had recently been seen as a threat to the Opéra's position as royal bastion. Equally, after 1827 the newly inaugurated Nouveautés posed a threat with its repertoire of non-French works translated into French *opéras-comiques*, which had attracted the respected talents of François-Henri-Joseph Castil-Blaze. Between them, the primary and secondary Parisian theatres offered an impressive diversity of productions, with musical genres including *opéra*, *opéra-comique*, *opéra-buffa*, *mélodrame*, *vaudeville*, *ballet* and *ballet-pantomime*. The appeal and accessibility of even the short-lived works satisfied the public's voyeuristic appetite for spectacle.[51]

The fact that all secondary theatres continued to pay taxes (*subventions*) to the primary theatres perpetuated the injustice of the social class-system, and remained a bone of contention for the subordinate theatres and their supporters throughout the Restoration.[52] The Opéra in particular consumed the lion's share of subsidies, and thus it received the brunt of anti-monarchical resentment.

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théâtres) were mixed. However, listings in the *Fanal des théâtres* (19 March 1821 and 6 July 1821), which showed the Opéra's takings for 1819, 1820 and up to June 1821, indicated the financial devastation caused to the Opéra by its enforced closure after the assassination of the Duc de Berry and the company's consequent move to the Salle Favart.

On 19 March 1821, the *Fanal des théâtres* published the comparative receipts of all Parisian theatres for 1819 and 1820. On 6 July 1821, it published the receipts for the month of April 1821, and in June 1821 those for May 1821. The publication of these lists made available information about the relative successes and failures of theatres for the years 1819 and 1820, and for the months of April 1821 and June 1821.

The lists showed that in 1819 and 1820 the Porte-St-Martin was clearly leading the receipts for secondary theatres (totals of 504,235.60 FF and 543,408.40 FF respectively). The Variétés came a close second with totals of 505,512.15 FF and 539,072.50 FF), then the Vaudeville (receipts of 511,500 FF and 488,771.70 FF). The Gaîté and the Ambigu-Comique reached between 350,000 FF and 460,000 FF for those years. In 1820, the Gymnase-Dramatique took receipts of 20,519.50 FF in its partial first year (it opened on 23 December, 1820).

Totals for the month of April 1821, however, showed the receipts among the secondary theatres as follows: Variétés (52,260.10 FF); Gymnase-Dramatique (46,248.05 FF); Cirque Olympique (43,418.20 FF); Porte-St-Martin (42,308.15 FF). In June 1821 the figures had turned again in the Gymnase-Dramatique's favour (57,141 30 FF); Variétés (48,431 90 FF); Porte-St-Martin (33,911.75 FF); Gaîté (27,084 50 FF); Ambigu-Comique (22,202.00 FF); Vaudeville (19,794.50 FF); Panorama-Dramatique (19,407.50 FF). The Gymnase continued to garner impressive receipts throughout the Restoration.

[51] Of the *théâtres des boulevards*, the Gymnase, Vaudeville and Variétés produced consistently satirical works, with harvests of parodies that responded to sensational premières at the primary theatres. Their repertoires also included short *opéras-comiques*. The Porte-St-Martin, the Gaîté and the Ambigu-Comique were committed to a more serious repertoire of mythological and historical *mélodrames* or *pantomimes*. Of all the secondary theatres, the Porte-St-Martin alone owned a permit to show ballets. The new Panorama-Dramatique failed in 1823, crushed by the archaic regulations imposed upon it. For profiles of each of the secondary theatres see the publications listed in fn. 39.

The management teams of all theatres were vulnerable to external forces (the demands of state events, the state censor, and ethical and political concerns as much as changing vogues) and, owing to governmental controls, it was in the theatre managements's best interests to comply with the expectations of the state.[53] The propaganda machine exploited theatrical complicity wherever possible, and thus theatres were a ready medium for communicating the political messages of the monarchy and its government. Despite its powers, however, government propaganda was itself vulnerable to the ambiguities of complex aural and visual communication that existed in theatrical works, so that metaphorical references often facilitated subversive messages. Multiple meaning in theatre was a dangerous weapon that was damaging to the propagandist code during the Restoration, and gradually weakened the hold of the monarchy over its people during that period and into the July Monarchy (we will look closely at specific examples in Chapter Two).

During the Restoration, individual theatres continued to harbour political affiliations.[54] Since the Revolution of 1789, the loyalties of those who provided artistic propaganda had been severely tested by changes of regime; many composers, librettists and authors had found themselves out of step with the prevailing political bias after outspoken forays in support of one regime or another. As premier national theatre, the Opéra played a key role in representing the monarchy's interests, although in so doing, its conservative and elitist repertoire at the outset of the Restoration was an obstacle to its success in the light of a modernising society. A large part of the Opéra's output tended to imitate the operatic style of the *ancien régime*; the repertoire was divided in almost equal quantities between old and new

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[52] For details of theatrical subsidies see Hemmings's chapter 'The Licensing System (1814-1864)' in his *Theatre and State*, p. 160-175.

[53] In 1828, while the theatrical censors (reinforced by five new members, including Charles Brifaut and M. A. Delaforest) clamped down hard on burgeoning Romanticism, the French press enjoyed a more liberal approach. For an outline of the organisation of censorial control during the Restoration see the introduction to Krakovitch, *Les Pièces de théâtre soumises à la censure*. Individual theatres approved submitted libretti among their own team of readers before submitting works to the Bureau des Théâtres (the government office dealing with censorship). The Opéra's team of readers (the Cabinet de Lecture) recorded their comments as hand-written *procès verbaux* (many of these have been preserved within the Opéra's archives that are now housed in the Archives Nationales within the AJ^{13} series). See Brigitte Labat-Poussin, *Archives du Théâtre National de l'Opéra (AJ^{13} 1-1466): Inventaire* (Paris: Archives Nationales, 1977). The copies submitted to French government censors and the resulting *procès verbaux* are also held in the Archives Nationales (see F^{18} 581-668 and F^{21} 966-995).

[54] The Théâtre Français and Cirque Olympique, for instance, were noted for their anti-royalist sympathies, while the Opéra and the Théâtre Italien continuted to demonstrate their loyalty to the crown.

works (around ten works in each category), with the old repertoire consisting of the works of composers such as Christoph Willibald Gluck, André-Ernest-Modeste Grétry, Niccolo Piccini and Antonio Sacchini.[55] It also maintained its traditionally large repertoire of ballets. With a large portion of its increasingly independent bourgeois audience demanding modernisation, and with generous subsidies from its increasingly successful administrative twin (the Théâtre Italien), a multitude of organisational blunders at the Opéra were disguised after 1820: the Opéra urgently needed to consider its long-term future.[56] In addition to the problems inherent in the Opéra's anachronistic repertoire, as a result of the predominance of important events of the crown during the early Restoration, commemorative works that were designed to honour the king overran the Opéra's repertoire. By the mid-1820s, the need for the Opéra to consider financial exigency over loyalty to the crown was looming large.

There was no doubt about the importance of theatre (lyric or otherwise) as a principal tool of influence. The theatrical world provided a dramatic medium whose function, scope and accessibility was comparable to that of modern television. Its fluid medium encapsulated a very different aesthetic from that of the static arts. The theatrical repertoire was widely disseminated through reviews, books, published libretti and music, lithographs and engravings, and in published excerpts from plays and operas that were re-enacted in private residences. André Chénier, controversial political playwright of the late eighteenth century, had valued the political power of theatre above that of literature:

> A book, no matter how good it may be, could not hope to affect the public mind as quickly or as strongly as a fine play [...] men in a crowd receive strong and lasting impressions.[57]

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[55] The repertoire list for the Salle Favart in 1821 (devised by the Opéra's Cabinet de Lecture) was published in the *Télégraphe* on 16 August 1821 (see Appendix 1). This list replicates one that was recorded by the Comité de Lecture in 1821, now held in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Archives de l'Opéra (shelfmark: AD 14 6).

[56] The gradual embourgeoisification of the Opéra stemmed in part from the developments at the secondary theatres, whose repertoires were becoming increasingly democratic. This development reflected a growing taste for melodrama which, in Jane Fulcher's words, 'expressed, to contemporaries, a new aesthetic, moral and political orientation.' Fulcher, *The Nation's Image*, p. 17.

[57] 'Un livre, quelque bon qu'il soit, ne saurait agir sur l'esprit public d'une manière aussi prompte, aussi vigoureuse qu'une belle pièce de théâtre [...] les hommes rassemblés reçoivent des impressions fortes et durables.' Marie-Joseph Chénier, 'Discours prononcé devant les Représentans de la Commune', *Charles IX, ou l'Ecole des rois* (Paris: Bossange, 1790) (prem. 23 August 1789) cited in Louis Moland, ed., *Le Théâtre de la Révolution, ou Choix des pièces de théâtre qui ont fait*

Having learned the codes of political innuendo (cultivated to its extremes during the Revolutionary period), the theatrical world of Restoration Paris was no less receptive to political ideas. On a daily basis the Parisian theatres offered the energy of live entertainment and the dynamic interaction between the audience and the stage. Theatrical arenas provided a focus for massed groups, and promoted charged atmospheres that were comparable to the euphoria generated at political meetings and festivities. Bearing in mind that the limited literacy of many audience members of that period meant that their experience of performed media was their principal link to the literary world, this was an energy level that is difficult to comprehend from a twenty-first century perspective.

It is clear that in Paris the relationship between the theatre and the world outside the theatre was fundamental. Theatrical works of the Restoration addressed a spectrum of early-nineteenth-century concerns: heredity, legitimacy, tyranny, democracy, propaganda, irrationality, rationality, realism, and fiction. Thus the repertoire provided the acid test of public opinion, and would continue to do so throughout the nineteenth century.

In the preface to his *Théâtre moderne*, Delaforest, who became one of the liberated critics of the July Revolution, described the theatre's pedagogical function:

> The theatre can be considered as a school for morals, in the sense of the influence that it exercises on taste, the habits and the general tone closely associated with purity, the stability of public doctrines, and consequently to the tranquility and the happiness of states. The theatre reflects the physiognomy of society, which receives from the dramatic productions a more distinct impression, and which communicates, in this manner, to all classes. One cannot, at least in France, know well the state of society, except through the study of the theatrical; it is a moral thermometer which one must consult, and in which one remarks and observes equally in all members of the physical order: action and reaction.[58]

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sensation pendant la période révolutionnaire (Paris: Garnier, 1877; Geneva: Slatkine, 1971), p. 14-15, cited in Graham E. Rodmell, *French Drama of the Revolutionary Years* (London: Routledge, 1990), p. 62.

[58] 'Le théâtre peut être considéré comme l'école des moeurs, dans le sens de l'influence qu'il exerce sur le goût, les habitudes et le ton général intimement liés à la pureté, la stabilité des doctrines publiques, et conséquement à la tranquillité et au bonheur des états. Le théâtrale reflète la physionomie de la société qui, à son tour, reçoit des productions dramatiques, une impression plus prononcée et qui se communique, par ce moyen, à toutes les classes. On ne peut, du moins en France, bien connaître l'état de la société que par l'étude du théâtre; c'est un thermomètre moral qu'il faut consulter, et dans lequel on remarque ce qu'on observe également dans toutes les parties de l'ordre physique: action et réaction.' Delaforest, *Théâtre moderne*, vol. 1, p. iii. Similarly, Victor

Delaforest was somewhat idealistic about the theatre as a 'school for morals' since each of the Parisian theatres had its own entrenched political and moral stance. Any didactic intentions were, in the main, geared more towards political indoctrination than moral philanthropy. Each theatre could be relied upon to react to political or sociological developments in its own manner. Theatreland did, however, reflect 'the physiognomy of society', and there was certainly truth in Delaforest's belief that dramatic productions offered 'a more distinct impression'. After all, theatre audiences were trained to perceive historical facts selectively, and in the world of representation, actions were telescoped, and laden with empathy-inspiring baggage. Towards the end of the Restoration, the perceptible shift of political emphasis in the Opéra's repertoire clearly reflected not only the shifting of its own historical perspectives, but also the shifts in French society's expectations.[59]

After the Revolution of July 1830, Delaforest joined the enduring critical reaction against the Restoration's censorial oppression, stating unequivocally that 'the history of politics is reflected in the history of theatre.'[60] Theatrical propaganda was, as stated, a double-edged sword for the monarchy: the theatrical world showed itself to be not only an inestimable tool in the Bourbon propaganda machine, but also a subversive medium for the monarchy's opposition. Wilful misreading and misrepresentation of historical icons were as dangerous to the crown as they were thought-provoking to the public. The close link between theatre, politics and society reflected a Pandora's box of potential for both royalist propaganda, and political subversion. Political expression within the theatrical medium was, as will become apparent, demonstrated from all political quarters, and was evident most notably in works that were designed specifically to flatter the crown.

Hugo wrote in his preface to *Angelo Tyran de Padoue* (7 May 1835): 'Today, more than ever, the theatre is a place of education.' ['Aujourd'hui plus que jamais, le théâtre est un lieu d'enseignement'] see Victor Hugo, *Théâtre complet* (Paris: Gallimard, Bibliothèque de la Pléiade, 1964), vol. 2, p. 555-557.

[59] Jane Fulcher proposes that the Opéra's conservative repertoire was forced to bow under pressure from both the burgeoning secondary theatres and from the wave of Romanticism. For her discussions on the democratising and commercialising of the Opéra towards and immediately after the July Revolution, see Fulcher, *The Nation's Image*, p. 16-20 and 47-62.

[60] 'histoire politique se trouve dans l'histoire théâtrale.' Delaforest, *Théâtre moderne*, vol. 1, p. ii.

Pièces de circonstance

After the recent constitutional upheavals, the mundanity of 'business as usual' would have crept back more quickly into the public life of the Restoration had not the early years been artificially sustained by the exceptional number of monarchical celebrations (royal anniversaries, marriages, births and simply changes in the eminence of members of the royal family), each of which was accompanied by a proliferation of celebratory artistic creativity.[61] In accordance with a long-standing tradition, one that had survived the Revolution and the Empire, all the Parisian theatres of the early Restoration responded to those events with celebratory *pièces de circonstance*, sycophantic theatrical works (musical or otherwise) that made reference to the Bourbon monarchy.[62] Artists working in the literary genres, or in the fine and plastic arts, created *œuvres de circonstance* for the same events.

As nearly every Parisian theatre fulfilled the requirement of producing a new work for these occasions, the dates of the major *circonstances* supply the only instances in the Restoration calendar in which all theatres billed 'premières' around a particular day. The iconographical resonance between theatres during those *circonstances*, therefore, constituted the epicentre of state politicisation within the theatrical calendar. These events enforced a synthetic mediation between the different artistic genres, one that, when works for different theatres are compared, informs us significantly on the relationships between music and other cultural outputs, and between the Bourbon monarchy, Restoration society, and contemporaneous historical perecptions.

The selected chronology in Appendix 2A offers an overview of Parisian theatrical works for the key state occasions between February 1816 and March 1830.[63] It demonstrates

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[61] For an account of the proliferating state events of the Restoration see Waquet, *Les Fêtes royales.*

[62] A handful of writers have offered brief surveys of the *pièces de circonstance* repertoire that touch on the period of the Restoration: Elizabeth C. Bartlet in '*Pièce de circonstance*', Stanley Sadie and John Tyrrell, eds., *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd edition, 29 vols (London: Macmillan, 2001); Patrick Barbier, *Opera in Paris 1800-1850: A Lively History*; Jean Mongrédien in his chapter 'L'Opéra au service du pouvoir', *La musique en France des lumières au romantisme* (Paris: Flammarion, 1986), p. 50-61.

[63] Much of the information in appendices 2A and B is based on data in Charles Beaumont Wicks, *The Parisian Stage: Alphabetical Index of Plays and Authors*, 5 vols (Alabama: University of Alabama, 1953) vol. 2 (1816-1830). This is the most comprehensive published repertoire list for the period, notwithstanding the notable omission of operas mounted at the Théâtre Italien.

the clustering of theatrical premières around key dates and lists the theatres at which the works were shown. A glance at the data shows that the bulk of state events occurred before 1825. The main events: the return of the Bourbons (in 1815), the marriage of the Duc and Duchesse de Berry (1816), the birth and baptism of the Duc de Bordeaux (1820 and 1821), the military campaign of the Duc d'Angoulême (1823), and the coronation of Charles X (1825) were clearly the most abundantly represented.

The listing shows that most theatres offered at least one *pièce de circonstance* for each event (although some theatrés provided two or more), and the premières were sometimes cascaded over several days. As a result, the public had the opportunity to experience more than one of the theatres' offerings; thus the degree of each theatre's political sincerity (if this were a concern) could easily be compared first-hand.

Appendix 2A demonstrates the intensity with which, during the first ten years of the Restoration, the copious outpouring of *pièces de circonstance* supported the presence of the Bourbons, and established a repertoire of mythological and historical themes that was crucial to the propagandist repertoire. We can see, too, the quick subsidence of this repertoire towards July 1830. This decline not only attested to the paucity of major royal events, but it also coincided with the broadening of anti-Bourbon sentiments. The listing shows that after the July Revolution, an outpouring of works dedicated to the memory of Napoleon underlined the collapse of the Restoration.

Although *pièces de circonstance* did not have to portray directly the event being celebrated, their characters generally came from a pool of recognised historical or mythological references that were intended to immortalise representatives of the current monarchy through association. After Napoleon's attempts at self-deification, and his disruption of the Catholic status quo, it was imperative for the incoming Bourbons to re-establish their unequivocal right to the French throne. They needed to make clear to what extent they would acquiesce to both the monarchical style of the *ancien régime* and to the rigours of the Catholic faith. The Opéra's attempt to affirm the position of the Bourbons next to God was apparent in Gaspare Spontini's two-act opera *Pélage, ou le Roi de la paix* (celebrating the return of the Bourbons in 1814), and in the collaborative *opéra-ballet* in one act *Les Dieux rivaux, ou les Fêtes de Cythère* (celebrating the marriage of the Duc and Duchesse de Berry in 1816). Both these works were typical of the vogue of monarchic

deification that harked back to the *ancien régime*.[64] These adulatory works embodied an approach that jarred harshly against the principles of theatres that were hostile to the monarchy, and both works turned out to be resounding failures.[65] Historical rather than mythological iconography was gradually being recognised by propaganda merchants to be the more appealing. The Opéra's celebratory repertoire, with its penchant for mythological themes, delayed the company's concurrence with the trend towards Romanticism. The distinction between mythological and historical aesthetics embodied the hostile discourse between the Classics and Romantics. After 1825, in particular, the Opéra's preference for historical rather than mythological topics indicated a developing policy of modernisation.[66] Auber's *La Muette de Portici*, for example (frequently perceived to be the Opéra's definitive Romantic step), was not seen there until 29 February 1828.

As the pre-eminent royal theatre, the Opéra was most constrained by the vagaries of the crown, and so the company's output revolved around the royal calendar more than any other Parisian theatre of the Restoration. Its attentiveness to the *pièces de circonstance* tradition was paramount in its efforts to maintain its status, as a result its repertoire was dominated by those works during the first decade of the Restoration. The Opéra's *pièce de circonstance* repertoire, occurring principally as it did before 1825, distracted composers from more substantial projects, and was therefore detrimental to the company's artistic development.

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[64] The librettist for *Pélage* was Etienne de Jouy, and the choreographer was Pierre Gardel. The opera was premièred on 23 August 1814. The composers of *Les Dieux rivaux* were Pierre-Montan Berton, Rodolphe Kreutzer, Louis-Luc Loiseau de Persuis and Gaspare Spontini, the librettists were Charles Brifaut and Michel Dieulafoy, and the choreographer was Pierre Gardel. It was premièred on 21 June 1816.

The Restoration Opéra's conservative repertoire belonged to a long-standing tradition that had its roots in the sixteenth century. One of France's earliest *pièces de circonstance*, *Circé*, had celebrated the marriage of Henri III (son of Catherine de Medici), shortly after the 1572 St Bartholemew's day massacre. Allegorical references to the gods, which characterised this early work, were still in place some 250 years later. The Restoration's fascination with the Renaissance is discussed in Cox-Rearick, 'Imagining the Renaissance', p. 207-50.

[65] The archaic literary style of *Les Dieux rivaux* portrayed the king as a divinity in scene 2: Love: 'This divine ascendant charms and astonishes me, where is he from?', The Messenger: 'Louis proves to mortals that a savant is on the throne.' [L'amour: 'Cet ascendant divin qui me charme et m'étonne. D'où le vient-il?', La Renommée: 'Louis prouve aux mortels qu'un sage est sur le trône'], *Les Dieux rivaux, ou les Fêtes de Cythère*, Archives Nationales (shelfmark: AJ[13] 132, reel 1, no. 497).

[66] Brifaut, one of *Les Dieux*'s librettists, was a leading exponent of Classicism. He became a member of the censorial board of Paris's theatres in 1828. From this position of authority, he opposed the first performances of Victor Hugo's first plays, and reportedly laughed openly at a reading of *Hernani*, see Krakovitch, *Les Pièces de théâtre soumises à la censure*, p. 27.

The limiting topicality of *pièces de circonstance* contributed to their generally poor survival rate: many received fewer than ten performances. The more topical a *pièce* was, the shorter its life span was likely to be, and the problem of curbed longevity was not aided by the generally inferior artistic quality of the works. Needless to say, for the Opéra (as the theatre that offered the most through-composed lyric works for special events), the box-office losses that resulted from the high costs and short life span of the *pièces* were often substantial. The lack of revenue was partly the result of the observance of *spectacle gratuit* (free entry) for the first night of each production, which attracted the masses to even the most dubious productions for at least one performance.

If the *pièce de circonstance* genre could be regarded as economically risky, this was because its exaggerated ostentation and superficial characterisation lacked appeal: concerns about musical meaning were subordinate to iconographical content. For the repertoire of *pièces de circonstance* at least, shelf life was a secondary consideration for all involved in the creative process, while the apparent veneration of the monarch was the overwhelming priority. Thus, the paradigm for measuring musical quality is obstructed by issues to do with audience members' respective acceptance or rejection of the monarch.

While the Opéra was reliant for its regular repertoire on works by single composers, *pièces de circonstance* traditionally demanded the collaborative pooling of skills and styles. In particular the Opéra's mature composers Rodolphe Kreutzer, Henry-Montan Berton and Louis-Luc Loiseau de Persuis combined their talents for these works. Of Kreutzer's nine works for the Opéra during the Restoration, six were *pièces de circonstance*, and five of these were collaborations with other composers. Of Berton's six works, five were *pièces de circonstance*, and four of these were collaborations. Of Persuis's contribution, three out of the four were *pièces de circonstance*, and all of these were collaborations. Not one of these three composers contributed to a collaborative work for the Opéra that was not a *pièce de circonstance*. A few composers contributed only *pièces de circonstance* to the Opéra's repertoire during the period. Luigi Cherubini and Ferdinand Paër provided only single acts to the collaborative *Blanche de Provence, ou la Cour des fées* (1821). Nicholas Isouard and Angelo Benincori worked successively on *Aladin, ou la Lampe mystérieuse*, which was to announce in 1822 the arrival of the Opéra in its new home (in the rue Pelletier), timed fittingly with the inauguration of the theatre's new gas lighting.[67] For the Opéra, the linking of the names of important composers to court events sent out a message that at France's

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[67] Isouard had died in 1818, but his *Aladin* was completed by Benincori.

principal opera house politics and aesthetics were united behind the crown. The reputations of the composers involved with the *pièce de circonstance* repertoire at the Opéra relied heavily on the political and artistic preferences of their critics. For Delaforest, such expenditure of talent on an essentially barren repertoire was wasteful:

> A *pièce de circonstance* is assuredly a fugitive genre that is destined for a few performances when it is good, and condemned in all cases to prompt and eternal oblivion. It is therefore difficult to understand why a man of real talent would lend his talents to work in this genre.[68]

These works nevertheless represented a high proportion of the output of the most prolific composers employed at the Opéra. The fact that composers and librettists usually put their *pièces* together hastily before the royal event did not help the works' prospects. Some *pièces* fared better than others in terms of popularity, but many suffered from their fractured construction, or lacked dramatic and musical coherence because of an imbalance between the quality of the music and the libretto (a reminder of the aphorism that a camel is a horse designed by committee).

In effect, paradoxically, with every short-lived or heavily criticised *pièce de circonstance* at the Opéra, the monarchy's status was being jeopardised. What the Opéra management judged to be a good criterion for adulatory representation was, in fact, based on a recipe from the *ancien régime.* The *pièce de circonstance* tradition subverted the Opéra's chief function, which was to symbolise the pinnacle of French operatic evolution. The Opéra's repertoire of *pièces*, therefore, represented an anachronism, not only in the stylistic substance of individual works, but also in that it emphasised the reluctance of the Opéra to acknowledge the changing needs of its audience. Indeed, rather than successfully promoting its more noble artistic aspirations, the Opéra's *pièces de circonstance* awoke society's narcissistic appetite.

In general *pièces de circonstance* (collaborative or not), tended to be overloaded with heavy-handed and often inane monarchical symbolism that would have better suited the era of

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[68] 'Une pièce de circonstance est assurément une œuvre fugitive destinée à quelques représentations quand elle est bonne, et condamnée dans tous les cas, à un prompt et éternel oubli. Il est donc difficile d'espérer qu'un homme d'un véritable talent soumette ses inspirations à un travail de ce genre.' Delaforest, *Théâtre moderne*, vol. 2, p. 45 (8 June 1825).

Louis XIV.[69] For the audience, for the box office and for those involved in realising the productions, most of the Opéra's *pièces* were not expected to be more than short-lived fireworks in the theatrical calendar. For many in the audience, they were little more than nostalgic glimpses of a past tradition, the means of a gratuitous and voyeuristic excitement.

Like those of the Opéra, the *pièces de circonstance* at secondary theatres aimed at crowd-pulling, although with greater aesthetic freedom than the primary theatres. More often than not, the secondary theatres' *pièces* understated the adulatory theme, presenting instead theatrical snapshots of the day itself, such as cameo portraits of French families celebrating the event, or groups of friends admiring new-born children who had been named after the king.

The contrasting ambitions of the primary and secondary theatres towards these special events confirmed that a strong theatrical hierarchy, one that reflected social divisions, was still very much in place in France. The Opéra's iconographical function as Paris's leading royal theatre was characterised frequently by the careful positioning of its own *pièces de circonstance* either at the beginning or near the end of most periods of celebration (see Appendix 2A). Furthermore, the Opéra stood relatively isolated in its support for selected monarchical events such as the state visit of Ferdinand I (*Roger de Sicile, ou le Roi troubadour*, 1817), the birth of the Duchesse de Berry's first child (*Les Fiancés de Caserte*, 1817), the anniversary of the assassination of the Duc de Berry (*La Mort du Tasse*, 1821), and the Duc de Bordeaux's investiture as Comte de Chambord (*François 1^er^ à Chambord*, 1830).[70]

For the most part, the Théâtre Italien, the Opéra's theatrical partner at the Académie Royale de Musique, did not produce *pièces de circonstance* (with the notable exception of Rossini's *Il viaggio a Reims* in 1825, which will be discussed in due course). Working with an almost exclusively imported Italian repertoire, the Théâtre Italien had only a limited pool of in-house composers before the arrival of Rossini in 1824.[71] In any case, the Italien's abstention from these events helped to focus the attention on the Opéra as the primary French opera theatre.

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[69] The *Mercure de France* referred to the première of *Les Dieux rivaux*: 'Never before, perhaps, has anybody made more unfortunate use of mythology' ['Jamais peut-être on n'a fait un plus malheureux emploi de la mythologie'], *Mercure de France* (4 January 1817).

[70] *La Mort du Tasse* optimistically associated the Duc de Berry with Italy's leading sixteenth-century poet Torquato Tasso. *François 1^er^ à Chambord*, premièred on 15 March 1830 at the Opéra, was by Moline de St-Yon and Fougeroux, with a score by Prosper de Ginestet.

The five primary theatres did not generally provide new works for the annual *spectacle gratuit* on the Restoration kings' religious feast days (the *Jour de Saint-Louis* and *Jour de Saint-Charles* in commemoration of the Restoration kings and their ancestors), which were frequently reduced to little more than excuses for bawdy revelry.[72] The primary theatres' absence from these subsidiary events emphasised their elite kudos. After 1825, in early November each year, a growing number of theatres began celebrating the feast day called *Jour de Saint-Charles* for Charles X, and between 1825 and 1830, several secondary theatres and some primary theatres continued to celebrate the *Jour de Saint-Louis* (see Appendix 2B). The *Constitutionnel des dames*, reporting on the traditional *spectacles gratis* for the *Jour de Saint-Louis* on 26 August 1823, assessed the potential of the *pièces de circonstance* to 'survive the event'.[73] Of nine *pièces de circonstance*, the journal identified *La Saint-Louis au Bivouac* at the Porte-St-Martin (by Merle, Ferdinand and Simon), and a work given at the Variétés (probably *La Fête au bivouac* by Théaulon, Bérard, Désaugiers and d'Artois) as the only two that could be deemed successful. The Opéra and the Théâtre Italien were the only theatres that did not present premières on those feast days between 1826 and 1829.

Delaforest's impatience with the dying tradition was presented in a review of the *pièces* for the *Jour de Saint-Charles* on November 1826:

> Will this be the last time the name of the king is exposed to such outrages? [...] At a pinch, one can conceive of *pièces de circonstance* being given in the following cases: peace, a coronation, a baptism, and the marriage of a prince. But the feast day of a king is not a fortuitous or unusual event. It is the periodical return of the same event, and consequently, it is not an occasion. When then will the friends of the Bourbons rid themselves of this sad spectacle?[74]

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[71] Having signed a contract with the French government on 27 February 1824, Rossini was in Paris to begin his contract by the summer that year.

[72] The *Jour de Saint-Louis* was on 24 August, and the *Jour de Saint-Charles* was on 4 November.

[73] 'according to the *Drapeau blanc*, the *Quotidienne*, and the other newspapers of the same [Bourbon loyalist] persuasion, all the new *pièces* are charming, full of spirited couplets, and of a quality to survive the event [...]. According to some other journals, they were received in all theatres with an enthusiasm that was difficult to describe.' ['selon le *Drapeau Blanc*, la *Quotidienne* et les autres journaux de la même couleur, toutes les pièces nouvelles sont charmantes, remplies de couplets spirituels, et de nature à survivre à la circonstance [...]. Selon quelques autres journaux, elles ont été accueillies dans tous les théâtres, avec un enthousiasme difficile à décrire.'], *Constitutionnel des dames* (26 August 1823).

[74] 'Sera-ce la dernière fois que le nom du roi sera exposé à de pareils outrages? [...]. A la rigueur, on peut conçevoir des *pièces de circonstance* dans des cas donnés: la paix, le couronnement, le

Recognising the narcissistic nature of the *pièces de circonstance* tradition, Delaforest asserted that, even for the most austere occasions, such works were to be suffered only at a 'pinch'. By over-emphasising the less important monarchical events, he feared that the 'friends' of the monarchy were, paradoxically, bruising its dignity. In his opinion, the anachronistic and superfluous tradition of *pièces de circonstance* was becoming counter-productive: instead of magnifying the Bourbons' virtues, it was highlighting their failings. However, Delaforest's fears were allayed by the fact that between 1825 and 1830, beyond feast days, there were no significant Bourbon celebrations. When in 1830 the Restoration Opéra's final *pièce* was produced (*François 1^er^ à Chambord*), this work's unmitigated failure echoed the monarchy's dwindling authority.

Pièces de circonstance were evidently notoriously dangerous investments for all theatres. With their success or failure depending on the credibility of individual events, and with compromised musical and dramatic content, any investment in this tradition was bound to be hazardous. Despite the pressing need to eradicate the embarrassments these works caused the monarchy, for the major events, as we shall see, the Opéra was seemingly blind to the disadvantages of the tradition. In the light of the controversial reception of the *pièce* tradition, it will be useful to know more about the events that demanded so much investment from Paris's musical theatres, and in particular from the Opéra.

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baptême, le mariage d'un prince. Mais la fête du roi n'est point un événement fortuit, inaccoutumé. C'est le retour périodique de la même circonstance, et par conséquent ce n'est pas une circonstance [...].

Quand donc les amis des Bourbons seront-ils débarrassés de ce triste spectacle?' Delaforest, *Théâtre moderne*, vol. 2, p. 244-245 (6 November 1826).

The major events

The efforts of the Duc and Duchesse de Berry to provide a royal progenitor were evidenced within the theatrical calendar during the first four years of their marriage. The Opéra had already proved reticent about the celebration of royal births. As the child mortality rate was extremely high in the early nineteenth century, it was sensible for theatres to wait for a short period until the infant was confirmed to be healthy. There had already been one notable disappointment for the Opéra relating to the death of the Duchesse de Berry's first child in July 1817. Various archival documents attest to the intentions of the Opéra to present the ballet *Les Fiancés de Caserte, ou l'Echange des Roses* as the *pièce de circonstance* for that birth. However, because of the death of that infant (on 14 July), the Opéra's new work was delayed until 17 September, when it could be disassociated from the event.[75] Other theatres did not react to the change of circumstances with such discretion; three were reported to have shown *pièces de circonstance* on 14 July 1817, one of which was a vaudeville called uncomfortably *Est-ce une fille? Est-ce un garçon?*.[76] Such obvious impropriety was an indication of the burgeoning undercurrent of disrespect for the monarchy.[77]

The intense theatrical celebrations that followed the 'miraculous' birth of a royal son and heir on 29 September 1820, and his subsequent baptism as the Duc de Bordeaux on 30 April 1821, focussed on themes of historical deference and renewal. A pervasive interest in Henri IV which, as we shall see, played a central role in monarchic propaganda, was universally evident. The Cirque Olympique proposed a life-cycle theme in *Le Berceau, ou les Trois ages de Henri IV* (30 April 1821), the Théâtre des Variétés developed a cradle theme in *Le Berceau du Prince, ou les Dames de Bordeaux* (13 Oct 1820), and the Théâtre Français

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[75] *Les Fiancés de Caserte, ou l'Echange des roses* by Gustave Dugazon, with choreography by Louis-Jacques Milon and Pierre Gardel, was described as a 'work destined to celebrate the confinement of S. A. M. la Duchesse de Berry [predicted for] Tuesday 8 July' ['ouvrage destinée à célébrer les couches de S. A. M. la Duchesse de Berry [prévu pour] mardi 8 juillet'], Archives Nationales (shelfmark: AJ[13] 132, reel 1, p. 237).

[76] The vaudeville E*st-ce une fille? Est-ce un garçon?* was shown at the Cirque Olympique; the play *L'Heureuse nouvelle, ou le Premier arrivé* was at the Porte-St-Martin, and the *opéra-comique* entitled *Le Sceptre et la charrue*, with music by Niccolò Piccinni, was at the Opéra-Comique. For the creative teams involved see Wicks, *The Parisian Stage*, vol. 2.

[77] Amusingly, as André Castelot points out, in celebration of the birth of the Duc de Bordeaux a new colour was produced. 'Bordeaux poo-poo' ['le *caca Bordeaux*']: 'All the elegant people had to wear an outfit of this shade if they were to avoid dishonour' ['Tous les élégants durent porter un habit de cette nuance s'ils ne voulaient point être déshonorés,'] Castelot, *Le Grand Siècle à Paris*, p. 204.

offered a reminiscence of Henri IV's mother in *Jeanne d'Albret, ou le Berceau* (30 April 1821).[78]

The inconsequence of the *pièce de circonstance* tradition was highlighted by the disparaging nonchalance of both the Théâtre Français and the Panorama-Dramatique around the royal baptism. The Théâtre Français, which was renowned for its anti-establishment politics, invested only a cursory effort in its own *pièce de circonstance*. Its irreverence challenged the lingering aspirations of the Opéra to present the monarchy as a force that was in tandem with God.[79] Hurried preparations for *Jeanne d'Albret, ou le Berceau* at the Français were satirised by Chaalons d'Argé:

> Alone among the theatres of Paris, the Théâtre Français has not announced a *pièce de circonstance*. Two days before the performance, a member of the theatre met M. Théaulon: 'What piece are you putting on?' asked the author.' We haven't got one.' 'I'll do one for you.' 'It's too late!' 'No, tomorrow morning you will have one [...]. In fact, the piece was done, produced and performed in less than two days.[80]

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[78] On 25 August 1818, coinciding with the anticipated birth of one of the Duchesse de Berry's children, the equestrian statue of Henri IV was moved to a new position on the Pont-Neuf. The previous evening, in a flurry of theatrical propaganda, three specially prepared theatrical works had been presented: *Le Bouquet de Henri IV* (at the Variétés), *La Double fête* (at the Odéon), and *La Statue de Henri IV, ou la Fête du Pont-Neuf* (at the Vaudeville). Following the death of Louis XVIII, the need to promote Bourbon legitimacy was manifest in *L'Héritière* (Gymnase-Dramatique, 20 December 1823), and for the Coronation of Charles X the association between Henri IV and historical renewal was manifest in *Le Béarnais, ou la Jeunesse de Henri IV* (Théâtre Français, 4 November 1825). Henri IV's military prowess at the Battle of Ivry had been the focus of an early *pièce de circonstance, Henri IV et Mayenne, ou le Bien et le mal* (Théâtre Français, 10 February 1816).

[79] A similarly unhealthy lack of respect for the *pièce de circonstance* tradition was indicated by the plot of the Panorama-Dramatique's work for the same event. For the management of the Panorama-Dramatique, artistic content was evidently not the overriding concern: 'The designated inhabitants of Paris [...] are reunited to name the [new-born] son [...]. One sings, one drinks, and there you have it, a *pièce de circonstance*' ['Des habitans de Paris désignés [...] se sont réunis pour nommer le fils [...]. On chante, on boit, et voilà une pièce de circonstance'], Chaalons d'Argé, *Histoire critique des théâtres*, vol. 1, p. 52 (30 April 1821).

[80] 'Seul des théâtres de Paris, le Théâtre Français n'avait pas annoncé de pièce de circonstance. L'avant-veille de la représentation, un sociétaire rencontra M. Théaulon - Quelle pièce nous donnez-vous? demande l'auteur. - Nous n'en avons pas. - Je vais vous en faire une. - Il est trop tard! - Non: demain matin vous en aurez une. En effet, la pièce fut faite, présentée et jouée en moins de deux jours', Auguste-Philibert Chaalons d'Argé, *Histoire critique des théâtres de Paris pendant 1821* [*et 1822*], vol. 1 (Paris: Lelong, 1822); vol. 2 (Paris: Pollet, 1824), vol. 1, p. 52 (30 April 1821). On 12 December 1823, Charles Maurice of the *Courrier des spectacles* published a damning criticism of *La Route de Bordeaux* (the Théâtre Français's work for the celebrations of Angoulême's military campaign), in which he suggested that the theatre should be stripped of its royal title.

The Opéra's *pièce de circonstance* for the birth of the Duc de Bordeaux, which followed the historical theme in a far more subtle way, will be discussed in detail in Chapter Two. Something of their keenness can be understood from the fact that for the child's baptism at the end of April 1821, the Opéra invested in a collaborative *pièce de circonstance*, a three-act opera *Blanche de Provence* from a collaborative team of five composers and two librettists.[81] Despite the fact that the celebrations of the baptism had been anticipated since the child's birth in September the previous year, the choice of *Blanche* had followed a long period of indecision.[82] Archival sources show that a large investment had already been made in preparations for an operatic *pièce* called *Marie-Thérèse de Presbourg* composed by Félix Blangini.[83] However, preparations for *Marie* were abandoned in their advanced stages in favour of *Blanche de Provence*, which was premièred on 3 May 1821.[84] Although some of the costumes prepared for *Marie* were used for *Blanche*, the Opéra's indecision was financially draining. Unsurprisingly, reviews of *Blanche* complained of the lack of artistic coherence incurred by its rushed preparation, and about the weakness of its allegorical premise. The Opéra had once again deliberately aimed for maximum extravagance rather than longevity:

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[81] The attempts of a M. Egville (a second-rate royalist French composer) to convince the Opéra to accept his work *Alcibiade* for the baptism celebrations are outlined in surviving archival documentation. *Alcibiade*'s plot was related to the story of Aspasie, the heroine of the one-act opera *Aspasie et Périclès* with music by Daussoigne, which had been premièred at the Opéra on 17 July 1820. Implicit in *Aspasie*'s propagandist tone was a commendation of the Duchesse de Berry in the form of a Greek 'Mother of Love' who is adored by the people of Greece. In scene 7, the Athenians cry out: 'Here is the Mother of Love [...]. Come and pay homage to her' ['Voici la mère de l'Amour [...]. Venez lui portez de votre hommage]. Aspasie later asks Euripides: 'What say the people of Athens?' ['Que dit le peuple d'Athènes?]. Euripides replies: 'That Aspasie is worthy of us' [Qu'Aspasie est digne de nous'], Archives Nationales (shelfmark: AJ^{13} 133, reel 1, no. 513).

[82] See Archives Nationales (shelfmark: AJ^{13} 133, reel 1, no. 517, *Blanche de Provence, ou la Cour des fées, divertissement allégorique*) for details of the distribution of the workload among the collaborating composers.

[83] See Archives Nationales (shelfmark: AJ^{13} 111/VII) for a correspondence about the suitability of *Marie-Thérèse* for the royal occasion, and for details of the rehearsal schedule. Three other proposed works went some way down the production line before *Blanche* was eventually chosen. For the memoirs of Félix Blangini see *Souvenirs de F. Blangini, maître de chapelle du roi de Bavière, membre de la Légion d'honneur et de l'Institut historique de France (1797-1834) dédiés à ses élèves, et publiés par son ami Maxime de Villemarest* (Paris: Charles Allardin, 1834).

[84] *Blanche de Provence* was a collaboration by the composers Cherubini, Berton, Boïeldieu and Paër, and the librettists Théaulon de Lambert and De Rancé. The ballets were by Gardel and Milon.

> The plot is more or less null and void [...] the choice was not a happy one. Allegory is in general a cold genre, and above all at the theatre, where all should be life, action and movement.[85]

Fatefully, the baptism celebrations coincided with the death of Napoleon on 5 May 1821, and this coincidence reawoke feelings of political division at a time when the Bourbons had hoped to refocus the French public on the monarchy.[86] Thus, Napoleon's influence against Bourbon legitimacy was potent even after his death.

Among the other opportunities the Bourbon monarchy had to present itself in a favourable light was the Duc d'Angoulême's campaign of 1823, during which French troops recovered the Trocadero in the bay of Cadiz from militant factions that were holding Ferdinand VII captive.[87] As a result of this campaign, the Spanish Bourbons were returned to absolute power. The success of the mission inspired the building of the monumental replica of the Cadiz Trocadero opposite the Champ de Mars in Paris. It also prompted an operatic *pièce de circonstance* in three acts entitled *Vendôme en Espagne* (5 December 1823).[88] Needless to say, the edifice proved more enduring than the *pièce*; despite some positive reactions to its musical content, *Vendôme en Espagne* survived only seven performances. This tepid reception was due in part to the fact that the Duc d'Angoulême's own contribution to the Spanish victory was glorified beyond its merits.

The impasse that existed between satisfying the needs of the people and those of the monarchy was manifest in the artistic failure of the majority of *pièces de circonstance* for the coronation of Charles X in early June 1825. More interesting than the Opéra's collaborative

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[85] 'l'action est à peu-près nulle [...] le choix n'a pas été heureux. L'allégorie est en général un genre froid, et surtout au théâtre, où tout doit être vie, action et mouvement', *Courrier des théâtres* (5 May 1821).

[86] Although most of the lithographs produced in France that depicted or commemorated Napoleon's death were submitted to print merchants soon after the news was reported, these publishers had to wait until the reign of Louis-Philippe to circulate them. The Moniteur of 19 August 1821 noted: 'Yesterday, the Correctional Tribunal of Paris took charge of the affair of thirty print merchants who were accused of having sold without authorisation engravings relating to the death of Bonaparte.' ['Le tribunal correctionnel de Paris s'est occupé hier de l'affaire de 30 marchands d'estampes prévenus d'avoir vendu sans autorisation des gravures relatives à la mort de Bonaparte'].

[87] See 'Ferdinand VII', *La Grand encyclopédie.*

[88] This *drame-lyrique* in three acts was the Opéra's *pièce de circonstance* for the celebrations. It was a commission for Daniel-François-Esprit Auber and Louis-Ferdinand Hérold (with a possible contribution from François-Adrien Boïeldieu). Its text was by Edouard Mennechet and Adolphe-Joseph Simonis Empis, and it was premièred at the Opéra on 5 December 1823.

work *Pharamond* (10 June 1825 - which failed after sixteen performances) was the Théâtre Italien's *dramma giocoso* in one act *Il viaggio a Reims, ossia L'albergo del giglio d'oro* (19 June 1825) by Rossini.[89] *Il viaggio* observed a miscellaneous group of Europeans who (like the Three Wise Men in search of their new king) were on a pilgrimage to witness the coronation.

Rossini's effervescent music embodied the mood of public self-gratification that had become analogous with some of the insatiably hedonistic factions of Restoration society. Dramatic emphasis was placed on the ostentation of the occasion and on the potential for voyeurism rather than on the laudability of the king himself. The absence of the monarch from the plot stressed the fact that *pièces de circonstance* had learned independence from the leaders they sought to commend. The cameo portraits of the travellers not only suggested international harmony, but also sent out an image of Paris as a pan-European melting pot after its foreign occupation during the early Restoration. In journeying to Reims, where French kings were traditionally crowned, the characters were united in their curiosity to see 'the king', the symbolic figurehead whose appellation had, in previous centuries, been a synonym for national pride and religious ecstasy. Just as the godlike pretences of the kings of the *ancien régime* had been disavowed by the Revolution, so *Il viaggio* portrayed a king's coronation in prosaic terms, and the monarch was denied centre stage, instead becoming simply the pretext for an enjoyable cultural journey.

Il viaggio represented a point of metamorphosis in the *pièce de circonstance* tradition. It turned a propagandist opportunity into a high-impact voyeuristic spectacle and aural feast for the people.[90] Its almost immediate failure was due partly to its fantastically demanding music, to its particularly extensive cast of solo roles, and to the specificity of its plot to the coronation of 1825. *Il viaggio* provided a particularly fascinating example of the Restoration's squandered musical talent.

For the same event, the Théâtre Français produced the play *La Clémence de David* by Xavier Draparnaud, whose première at the Théâtre Français on 7 June 1825 divided critics.

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[89] *Pharamond* was a collaboration by the composers Berton, Boïeldieu, and Kreutzer, and the librettists Jacques Ancelot, Pierre Giraud and Alexandre Soumet. It was dropped from the repertory after November 1825. By contrast, *Il viaggio a Reims* was one of the era's few non-collaborative *pièces de circonstance*. Its text, by Luigi Balocchi, referred loosely to Germaine de Staël's *Corinne, ou l'Italie* whose protagonist's name was retained in the opera.

[90] *Il viaggio* was later reworked by Rossini into *Le Comte Ory* (1828). See Janet Johnson, 'A Lost Rossini Opera Recovered: *Il viaggio a Reims*', *Bollettino del centro rossiniano di studi* (Pesaro: Fondazione Rossini, 1983), p. 7-57.

Disdainful whistling caused it to be removed from the stage even before Charles X made his *entrée* to Paris after the coronation at Reims: it was soon reduced from five acts to three. *La Clémence de David* was described as a *tragédie de circonstance*, an oxymoronic definition that itself insinuated political subversion. Delaforest objected to the concept of a celebratory '*tragédie*', describing it as an 'essentially ridiculous genre'.[91] A *tragédie de circonstance* was, he stated, 'certainly one of the silliest ideas to have entered the head of a madman'.[92] He explained his reaction: 'The dramatic poem is not only governed by rules, but also by an empire of reason, which cannot lend itself easily or with dignity to the allusions that the works for special occasions must offer'.[93] It would seem from Delaforest's comments that neither the *pièce de circonstance* nor the apparently antipathetic *tragédie de circonstance* could boast a claim to rationality. If the concept behind the *pièce de circonstance* repertoire was 'unreasonable' or 'irrational', then the Opéra as the leader of that tradition must likewise be branded as unreasonable and irrational. By association, the monarchy that chose to be represented by such works was equally irrational. Delaforest acknowledged a problematic symbolism behind the clashing wills of the two lead men, David and Saul, who provided allegorical parallels between Charles X and Napoleon. He noted, however, that the audience made nothing of this connection.[94] As it turned out (with Louis-Philippe usurping the Bourbons in 1830), the production of a *tragédie de circonstance* to mark the onset of the unpopular reign of Charles X in 1825 proved more prophetic than disrespectful.

More than any other form of propaganda, the *pièce de circonstance* tradition highlighted the improbability of reconciling the Bourbons and their oppositions. This irreconcilability was amplified by the nature of the *pièces* produced at the Opéra which, as dominant purveyor of propaganda, offered the most traditional, the most glorious, and therefore the most irrational of all *pièces*. The fact that *pièces de circonstance* posed an obstacle to artistic development had little bearing on their continued production. As the Bourbon regime had not held true to its promise of reform, the propagandist potential of the *pièce de circonstance* tradition was easily undermined. Until just after the coronation in 1825,

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[91] 'ouvrage essentiellement ridicule', Delaforest, *Théâtre moderne,* vol. 2, p. 45 (8 June 1825).

[92] 'C'est certainement une des idées les plus folles qui puissent passer à travers une tête mal faite, que celle de faire une *tragédie de circonstance.*' Delaforest, *Théâtre moderne,* vol. 2, p. 45 (8 June 1825).

[93] 'Le poëme dramatique est soumis non seulement à des règles, mais encore à un empire de raison qui ne peut se prêter facilement et avec dignité aux allusions que doivent offrir les ouvrages faits pour une occasion déterminée', Delaforest, *Théâtre moderne,* vol. 2, p. 45 (8 June 1825).

[94] Delaforest, *Théâtre moderne,* vol. 2, p. 45-50 (8 June 1825)

the Opéra's unremitting keenness to promote Bourbon interests before the French public through the *pièce de circonstance* repertoire, and its inability to modernise the format of these political statements, ultimately contributed to the Bourbons' demise.

Countering any display of universal benevolence on the part of the monarchy, the *pièces de circonstance* at many Restoration theatres were fraught with political dissension. Some of the rebellious stances, furthermore, revealed the growing French taste for entrepreneurism, and signalled a reactionary stance against tradition for tradition's sake. Certainly, the insistent clamour of some theatre administrators for compensation after the closure of their venues following the assassination of the Duc de Berry, indicated that the financial concerns of theatre managers were not interrupted substantially by royal tragedy. In any case, bearing in mind the objections of the directors of secondary theatres to paying subsidies to the premier theatres, their inclination towards politically irreverent or exploitative *pièces de circonstance* was unsurprising.

The inappropriate aesthetic of early Restoration *pièces de circonstance* and their indifferent reception provokes us to ask questions about the value of political statements in art at this time. The superficiality of the culture of *pièces de circonstance* on both sides of the political coin reflected a nation at play, a nation shirking responsibility for its own past, and thereby also undermining its impact on the future. To its own detriment the Restoration monarchy had been over-enthusiastic in its attempt to gild the fragile *fleur de lys*, the emblematic Lily of France.[95] It had layered a superficial enamel on the musical statues of the period, obscuring truth at the expense of its own integrity.

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[95] The *fleur de lys* achieved particular importance during the Restoration with the Bourbons' instigation of the 'Ordre du Lis'. For centuries the lily had been the heraldic symbol of the kings of France, but its status may well have developed from a misnomer for Louis VII (spelt 'Loys' in the twelfth century). The 'fleur de Louis' is suspected to have originated from the iris; thus the 'lily of France' has the characteristic frond-like shaping of the iris's petals. See Jean-Bernard Cahours d'Aspry, *Des Fleurs de lis et des armes de France, légendes, histoire et symbolisme* (Biarritz: Atlantica, 1998), p. 22.

Plate 2: Serment du traître Raguse.

Chapter Two

Bourbon iconography:

Les Pages du duc de Vendôme and Henri IV

Introduction

A caricature of a notorious political oration given by Maréchal Marmont, created soon after July 1830, shows the Bourbon marshal with his nose pushed up against the buttocks of a trouserless Charles X (see Plate 2). The marshal, lifting his left arm, says: 'Sire, I swear that this smells like 'The Lily', and that I will never turn away from you on account of this wind.'[1] Thus, Marmont (alias the Duc de Raguse) fawningly declares that the smell emanating from Charles X's bottom is that of the *fleur de lys*, and he indicates his intentions to remain loyal to his king. The caricature satirised the hypocrisy of Marmont who had, once before, notoriously 'blown with the wind'. At the outset of the first Restoration in 1814, Marmont (a Napoleonic marshal during the Empire), had switched his political loyalty from Emperor to King.[2] The cartoon refers to the fact that, fifteen years later, when the

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[1] *Serment du traître Raguse* [...]. Marmont a le nez pris entre les fesses de Charles X déculotté. Le maréchal, levant le bras g. [*gauche*]: 'Sire, je jure que ça sent le Lys et que je ne tournerai jamais que par ce vent.' Nicole Villa, *La Collection de Vinck, Inventaire analytique*, vol. 6, 'La Révolution de 1830 et La Monarchie de Juillet' (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, Département des Estampes, 1979), no. 11326. A similar caricature (no. 9050) depicts Marmont turning like a 'girouette' (a weathervane). For more on the 'Weathervane' see Nina Maria Athanassoglou-Kallmyer, '*Voltigeurs* and Weathervanes, Crayfish and Candle-Extinguishers', Chapter Three in *Eugène Delacroix: Prints, Politics and Satire, 1814-1822* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991).

[2] Auguste-Frédéric-Louis Viesse de Marmont, Duc de Raguse (1774-1852), had led an exemplary military life under Napoleon, as *aide-de-camp* (1796-98), Commander of the Dalmatian army

Bourbons were overthrown by a second revolution in July 1830, and Louis-Philippe d'Orléans was declared king, Marmont's decision to stand by Charles X defied the expectation that he would repeat his earlier disloyalty.

The image of Marmont with his face pressed against Charles X's bottom was in fact inspired by a cartoon from the early Restoration, which depicted Marshal Ney with his nose caught similarly between Napoleon's buttocks. In that cartoon, the Napoleonic marshal was shown to 'eat humble pie' after he abandoned the Emperor for Louis XVIII during the First Restoration in 1814. The cartoon was poetically entitled *Serrement du nez' (Serment de Ney)* [*The pinching of the nose (Sermon of Ney)*], referring to a famous declaration of loyalty that Ney had preached during the Hundred Days to the Emperor on the Champ de Mai only months after he had rallied to the Bourbons. Its subtext reads: 'Play on words illustrated by the posture of Marshal Ney who allows his nose to be taken between the buttocks of Napoleon and who, full of enthusiasm, cries out with raised arms: "I swear that this smells of the violet"'.[3] Napoleon had adopted the violet as his iconic flower, announcing his return to France with the words: 'Au printems la violette' ('In springtime, the violet'). A further caricature in the Bibliothèque Nationale, *Le Lys et la violette*, bears witness to the symbolic political adversity that existed between the lily and the violet and confirms the simplicity with which political symbols were transferred like identity badges from one regime to

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(1806), Duc de Raguse (1808), and Maréchal (1809). In 1814, however, he shifted his political allegiance and sided with the Bourbons. His military actions decided the abdication of Napoleon who, when he returned temporarily from Elba in 1815, rejected Marmont as a traitor. Marmont followed Louis XVIII to Ghent during the 'Hundred Days' of Napoleon's return. He was made captain of the *gardes-du-corps* (1815), and then Minister of State (1817). In 1830 Marmont went into exile with Charles X, and was never to return to France. See 'Marmont', *Grand Larousse Encyclopédie* (Paris: Librairie Larousse, 1963). For a contemporaneous account of Marmont's defection see Boigne, *Mémoires*, vol. 1, p. 339-349

[3] 'Calembour illustré par l'étrange posture du maréchal Ney qui s'est laissé prendre le nez entre les fesses de Napoléon et qui, plein d'enthousiasme, s'écrie en levant un bras: 'Je jure que ça sent la violette'. The engraving was submitted by Lacroix on 27 July 1815, see Rosset, *Collection de Vinck*, vol. 5, no. 9396. The text in the Vinck catalogue elaborates on the title: 'This piece takes a crude swipe at the sermon preached by Ney to the Emperor on the Champ de Mai, and which he had delivered to Bourbons with the same ardour some months previously.' ['Cette pièce raille grossièrement le serment prêté à l'empereur au Champ de Mai par Ney, rallié aux Bourbons avec la même ardeur quelques mois auparavant.'] Marshal Ney had been one of Napoleon's most loyal subjects, but with the arrival of the Bourbons in 1814 he swore allegiance to Louis XVIII. As a test of his loyalty to the crown he was sent to arrest Napoleon as he arrived from Elba. Instead he turned against the Bourbons, offering his troops to Napoleon and fighting with him at Waterloo. When Napoleon was defeated after the Hundred Days, Ney was tried for treason and was executed on 7 December 1815.

another.[4] In obvious parallel, the caricatures of Marmont and Ney illustrate the roles played by these men in the iconographical tug of war between the two regimes, and indicate the extent to which the loyalties of each military commander was tested in turn by Emperor then monarch.

The time-lapse of some ten years between the cartoons demonstrated the length of time that individual satirical images remained in the public consciousness, and indicated the enduring nature of concerns about constitutional loyalty. Much as these parallel caricatures illustrated the respective shames of Marmont and Ney, they also illustrated the embarrassments of different rulers in having to accommodate such turncoats.[5] From the outset of the Restoration, knowledge about which Bonapartists had become Bourbon supporters was widespread, and high-ranking men such as Marmont and Ney provided the ultimate scapegoats for caricaturists wanting to illustrate the shifting loyalties of military commanders. Defectors were frequently exposed to ridicule and rebuff, and their eventual absorption into the Bourbon regime led to an undercurrent of distrust, a social *impasse* that could only be overcome with pretence and superficiality. The disloyalty of Marmont and Ney was echoed down the ranks and into the civilian world, prompting a shallow expectation of loyalty and truth in real life as well as in the cultural arena. Difficulties inherent in integrating opposing social forces were, because of the future changes of regimes, to reoccur endlessly during the coming century.

The ease with which all sectors of the French people adapted themselves to the Restoration was redolent of their easy acceptance of Napoleon's leadership after the absolutism of the *ancien régime*. Tolstoy's quip in *War and Peace* that the French population of the Napoleonic times could be described as a herd of cattle, turning complacently towards whichever cow was 'in front' evidently held true for the Restoration.[6] For the restored Bourbons to effect their transformation convincingly, and to regain the respect of the populace, they needed a range of propaganda symbols that were able to ride above political ambiguity; to this end, the turn to historical propaganda was intended to promote an atmosphere of solidarity.

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[4] See the caricature *Le Lys et la violette* in which a grenadier gathers violets from the foot of a laurel, while forgotten lilies lie scattered around, in Rosset, *Collection de Vinck*, vol. 5, no. 9397.

[5] The crises of allegiance on the part of other leading French marshals are outlined in 'A New World, June 1814-March 1815', Chapter IX of Mansel, *Louis XVIII*.

[6] Tolstoy, *War and Peace*, p. 1417.

The Bourbon *pièce de circonstance* repertoire could have been expected to demand vigilant censorship, as well as optimum loyalty on the part of the creative minds behind these works. However, just as the loyalty of leading politicians had been transferred from one regime to another, that of leading composers and writers had also strayed. The seesaw of shifting allegiance was manifest as composers redefined their political affiliations in music and lyric theatre; the *pièces de circonstance* repertoire was at the heart of the issue.

Composers such as Cherubini and Paër, Méhul, Catel, Spontini and Hérold, for instance, all of whom wrote operas or cantatas in honour of Louis XVIII and his court, had written music in honour of Napoleon during the Empire.[7] In the face of a collective *volte-face* on this scale, questions emerge about the ability of such composers to retain their professional dignity, and for their works to command respect.

This situation raises several questions. To what extent did the political disingenuity of composers and librettists affect the musical or dramatic integrity of their works? How did the diverse sectors of the French public (ultraroyalists, Republicans and other liberal groups) swallow the iconographical offerings of those who had already served opposing masters? Indeed, how could the Bourbons convince their disparate public of the validity of their own power, when the recent past had preached the reverse? These questions are broad, but pointers to their answers are to be found in a close inspection of the allegory and iconography embedded in the musical works of the period.

Bearing in mind the levels of political critique that were manifest throughout French culture after the beginning of the Restoration (as seen in the caricatures of Marmont and Ney), this chapter is largely concerned with the examination of one propagandist stage-work: *Les Pages du duc de Vendôme*, the single-act ballet about a pageboy escapade, which was the Opéra's *pièce de circonstance* for the birth of the Duc de Bordeaux in 1820. Premièred in the problematically small Théâtre Favart, the ballet enjoyed a surprisingly widespread and prolonged success. It was to be one of the few *pièces de circonstance* to transcend the

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[7] Ferdinand Paër wrote an *Offertoire pour la mort du duc de Berry* (1820), and a *Cantate* for the coronation of Charles X.

Luigi Cherubini collaborated with Méhul and Catel on a *Cantate sur la naissance de S. M. le Roi de Rome* (1811), yet Cherubini also wrote a cantata in honour of Louis XVIII in 1814, and a cantata *Le Mariage de Soloman* for the marriage of the Duc de Berry and Marie-Caroline in 1816.

Méhul's career peaked during the Revolution and Empire. He was responsible for *Le Chant du départ* (1794), and *Le Chant du retour* (1797), as well as two cantatas for the Emperor's marriage: *O doux printemps* (1810) and *Du trône jusqu'à Toi* (1810). On the return of the Bourbons, however, one of Méhul's last works was a cantata to celebrate their victory.

stigma attached to that genre, and it was also, perhaps more intriguingly, to survive into the July Monarchy.

Although *Les Pages* has not remained in the ballet repertoire, its exceptional popularity during the Restoration, in spite of the negative connotations of its *pièce de circonstance* status, leads us to ask how contemporaneous perceptions of it differed from that of a hypothetical modern audience. Part of the answer is that behind the façade of the ballet's success lay a web of ambiguous political associations that spoke on a contemporaneous level; these will be explored later in the present chapter. Why, although *Les Pages* was steeped in political ambiguity, as we shall see, did it escape the censor's knife? How much did musical aspects and the *mise-en-scène* detract from or disguise its political ambiguities? Could the ballet's political ambiguities have played any positive role during a time of national division? In the light of these questions, what were the broader aims and functions of propaganda during the Restoration? This chapter will address these questions, and examine ways in which *Les Pages*'s ambiguous allegorical content reflected public indifference to the new monarchy, placed as that was at centre stage of the Restoration theatrical world.

Les Pages du duc de Vendôme

Les Pages du duc de Vendôme was created by the composer Adalbert Gyrowetz and the choreographer Jean Aumer.[8] For several reasons their ballet was an unusual *pièce de circonstance*. Whereas the Opéra's *pièces* generally announced the beginning or the ending of a celebratory period, *Les Pages* was not premièred until 18 October 1820, some weeks after the birth of the Duc de Bordeaux. This timing was probably the result of cautious planning, in case the baby did not survive.

The choice of *Les Pages du duc de Vendôme* as a *pièce de circonstance* was additionally unusual in that this was a non-collaborative work (created by only one composer and one choreographer). The Opéra's two preceding collaborative *pièces de circonstance*, *L'Heureux retour*, 25 July 1815, and *Les Dieux rivaux, ou les Fêtes de Cythère*, 21 June 1816 (discussed in Chapter One), had combined the music of several composers and, despite the Opéra's excessive financial investments, they had commanded only nineteen

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[8] Aumer was responsible for the choreography of many of the Opéra's *ballets-pantomime* during the Restoration, working four times with Hérold. He collaborated only once again with Gyrowetz, on *La Fête hongroise* (15 June 1821), but this one-act *divertissement* failed after only four performances in the Salle Louvois, where the Opéra 'camped' for several performances before moving into the new Salle Le Pelletier. Aumer also provided the choreography for the *divertissements* in *La Muette de Portici* (1828).

Gyrowetz was something of a multilingual international diplomat, as well as a prolific composer. He worked on only three works for the Opéra, of which *Les Pages* proved the most popular. In addition to his two collaborations with Aumer, Gyrowetz worked with Michele Carafa on the music for *Nathalie, ou la Laitière suisse* (7 November 1832). See Théodore de Lajarte, *Bibliothèque musicale du Théâtre de l'Opéra, catalogue historique, chronologique, anecdotique*, 2 vols (Paris: Librairie des Bibliophiles, 1878), vol. 2. The *livret* (scenario) of *Les Pages du duc de Vendôme* by Gyrowetz and Aumer was printed in 1820 by the Parisian publisher Barba. Two copies can be found in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Opéra (shelfmark: Liv. 19 377 and Liv. 19 388).

Gyrowetz had pre-empted two of the Opéra's popular new works during the Restoration, firstly with his music for Friedrich von Schiller's *Wilhelm Tell* premièred at the Theater an der Wien, 30 May 1810 (which anticipated Rossini's *Guillaume Tell*, premièred at the Opéra in 1829), and secondly with *Aladin oder Das Notwendige* (also known as *Die Wunderlampe*), an opera after Sarrazin and Castelli, premièred at the Kärntnertortheater in Vienna on 7 February 1819 (which pre-empted the extremely sucessful *Aladin, ou la Lampe mystérieuse* by Nicolo and Benincori, premièred at the Opéra in 1822). See Adrienne Simpson, 'Gyrowetz', *The New Grove Dictionary of Opera*, ed. Stanley Sadie, 4 vols (London: Macmillan, 1992), and 'Gyrowetz' in Franz Stieger, *Opernlexikon*, 11 vols (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1975-1983).

performances between them.[9] For the three main royal celebrations after the birth (marking successively the baptism of the Duc de Bordeaux, the Duc d'Angoulême's Spanish victory, and Charles X's coronation), the Opéra was, as we know, to favour ill-advisedly three grand collaborations (*Blanche de Provence*, May 1821, *Vendôme en Espagne*, December 1823, and *Pharamond*, June 1825), which again required vast expenditure, but which between them garnered a total of only twenty-six performances.[10] *Les Pages du Duc de Vendôme*, on the other hand, enjoyed a 'grand succès', achieving 115 performances before 13 October 1830.[11]

Les Pages also broke with the tradition of *pièces de circonstance* in that its première in Paris in 1820 was not its world première. Gyrowetz had already collaborated on a *komische Oper* entitled *Die Pagen des Herzogs von Vendôme* for a Viennese audience in 1808, and seven years later, Gyrowetz had also worked with Aumer to transform the comic opera into a two-act ballet of the same name.[12] Crucially, too, the genesis of the 1820 ballet went back further than the 1815 Vienna production. Its plot and characters relied heavily on a one-act vaudeville of the same name by Remy Gersin and Joseph Marie Armand Michel Dieulafoi, which had been premièred on 17 June 1807 at the Théâtre du Vaudeville during the height of Napoleon's military interests in Spain.[13] The Opéra's 'new work' of 1820 was, therefore, irrefutably second-hand.

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[9] *L'Heureux retour*, a one-act ballet, was composed by Berton, Kreutzer and Persuis; the choreographers were Milon and Gardel.

[10] The long list of composers and librettists involved with these works is as follows: *Blanche*, an opera in one act: composers Berton, Kreutzer, Boïeldieu, Cherubini and Paër, and librettists Lambert, Théaulon and De Rancé; *Vendôme en Espagne*, a lyric drama in one act: composers Auber and Hérold, and librettists Mennechet and Empis; *Pharamond*, an opera in three acts: composers Berton, Kreutzer, Boïeldieu, and librettists Ancelot, Guiraud and Soumet.

[11] Lajarte, *Bibliothèque musicale*, vol. 2, p. 96-7.

[12] For *Die Pagen des Herzogs von Vendôme* (a *komische Oper* in one act [perhaps two]) Gyrowetz worked with Joseph Sonnleithner. It was premièred on 5 August 1808 at the Kärntnertortheater. The first Aumer ballet collaboration was premièred at the Kärntnertortheater on 16 October 1815.

[13] The scenario for *Les Pages du duc de Vendôme*, 'a play interspersed with vaudevilles' ['comédie mêlée de vaudevilles'] in one act by Gersin and Dieulafoi, was published by Masson in 1807, and is available in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Opéra (shelfmark: Liv. 19 1862a).

For details about the licensing restrictions and predetermined repertoires of the French theatres of the Restoration, see Albert, *Les Théâtres des Boulevards*, Hemmings, *The Theatre Industry in Nineteenth-century France*; Hemmings, *Theatre and State in France 1760-1905*, Wild, *Dictionnaire des théâtres parisiens au XIXe siècle*. Only the Variétés, the Vaudeville and the Gymnase-Dramatique (and for a short time the theatre of the Palais-Royal) were permitted to show vaudevilles during the Restoration.

Gersin and Dieulafoi had loosely based their vaudeville *Les Pages* on La Fontaine's seventeenth-century story in verse *Le Muletier*.[14] The vaudevillists had retained the story's Spanish setting because it provided a useful context for representing Napoleon's military interests in Spain. Importantly, then, by 1820, when the Gersin and Dieulafoi vaudeville had been reconstituted as the Opéra's *pièce de circonstance*, like Marshals Marmont and Ney it had vaulted a constitutional change, and it brought with it an accompanying baggage of political innuendo that will be investigated in what follows.

For those who watched the 1820 ballet but had not seen the earlier vaudeville, information about its dubious genealogy was readily available. In Aumer's *avertissement* (preface) to the published scenario, he himself referred directly to the 1807 vaudeville:

> One can see how much I owe to the vaudeville, of which I have borrowed the subject, but I would like to state with what zeal and what encouragement the Artistes of the Académie Royale de Musique have supported me for the production of my work, and how much their welcome and their concerns have enhanced the pleasure that a Frenchman experiences in seeing his homeland once again, that a comrade feels in finding himself in their midst.[15]

Several newspaper reviews compared Gyrowetz's ballet to 'the version of Gersin and Dieulafoi', in other words, to the vaudeville.[16] The *Journal des théâtres* for 20 October

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[14] 'It's La Fontaine's *Le Muletier* in action' ['C'est le Muletier de La Fontaine en action'], *Annales dramatique ou Dictionnaire général des théâtres*, 9 vols (Paris: n. pub., 1809), vol. 7, p. 189-90. La Fontaine took his inspiration from Giovanni Boccaccio's *The Decameron* (Third Day - Second Story), in which a groom makes love to King Agilulf's wife, see *The Decameron* (Third Day - Second Story) trans. Richard Aldington, 2 vols (London: Paul Elek, 1958). Much of the lewd content of Boccaccio's tale was played down in the later versions. Nevertheless, the potentially controversial connection was known to a journalist of the Restoration who saw *Les Pages* to be rooted 'in a story by Boccaccio, imitated by the inimitable La Fontaine' ['Dans un conte de Bocace, imité par l'inimitable La Fontaine'], *Journal des théâtres* (20 October, 1820). For *Le Muletier* see Jean de La Fontaine, *Fables et Contes*, intr. Edmond Pilan and René Groos, annot. René Groos and Jacques Schiffrin (Paris: Gallimard, Bibliothèque de la Pléiade, 1954), p. 405-408.

[15] 'On verra combien je dois aux auteurs du Vaudeville, dont j'ai emprunté le sujet; mais je ne saurais dire quel zèle et quel empressement les Artistes de l'Académie Royale de Musique ont mis à me seconder dans la mise en scène de mon ouvrage, et combien leur accueil et leurs soins ont augmenté le plaisir qu'un Français éprouvait à revoir sa patrie, un camarade à se retrouver au milieu d'eux.' Aumer, *Les Pages du duc de Vendôme,* 'Avertissement'.

[16] The *Télégraphe* was aware of the connection between the vaudeville and the ballet: 'In this ballet about the pageboys of the Duc de Vendôme, M. Aumer has translated into steps and into a graceful tableaux, the dialogue of MM. Dieulafoi and Gersin which is spirited, although somewhat stilted, and has cutting, though rather affected couplets. For the rest, the outline of this piece seemed as

1820, for example, made sure that the contemporary public was well aware of the symbolism behind the ballet:

> It is from the revision of this tale [La Fontaine's *conte*] that MM. Dieulafoi and Gersin have drawn the idea of a very pretty vaudeville, which is not being performed any more at the rue de Chartres because it contains some sentiments which come across badly, and which resonate heretically against the allies.[17]

The potential political problem downplayed in an article for the *Courrier des Spectacles* six months later (17 March 1821), which mocked the censors' concerns about the links between the ballet and the vaudeville:

> *Les Pages* [...] gives pleasure, above all because of the animated spectacle that it presents. Some rigid censors claim that the Grand Opera has not considered its dignity sufficiently in going to search in the rue de Chartres for a ballet subject; but this objection seems to me to bear little weight, because the essential thing is to please and amuse.[18]

This paradoxical statement is enlightening: although the reviewer admits to a knowledge of the political history of the ballet, he consciously disregards this in favour of pleasure and amusement. Those reviews of *Les Pages* that alluded to the vaudeville must undoubtedly

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happily filled out at the Opéra as at the Vaudeville.' ['Dans le ballet des pages du Duc de Vendôme, M. Aumer a traduit en pas et en tableaux gracieux, le dialogue spirituel, mais un peu guindé et les couplets piquans, mais un peu précieux de MM. Dieulafoi et Gersin. Au reste, le cadre de cet ouvrage a paru aussi heureusement rempli à l'Opéra qu'au vaudeville.'], *Télégraphe* (23 August 1821). Aumer was also described as the: 'author of the ballet, based on the play' ['auteur du ballet composé d'après la pièce'], Chaalons d'Argé, *Histoire critique des théâtres*, vol. 1, p. 9. A review in the *Journal des théâtres* of the first performance noted on 19 October 1820: 'This new choreography will not make us forget the vaudeville in the rue de Chartres. The action is entirely based on the well-known work' ['Ce nouveau chorégraphe ne fera point oublier le vaudeville de la rue de Chartres. L'action est entièrement calquée sur l'ouvrage connu.'].

[17] 'C'est dans ce conte retourné que MM. Dieulafoi et Gersin ont puisé l'idée d'un fort joli vaudeville, que l'on ne représente plus à la rue de Chartres parce qu'il renferme quelques propositions mal sonnantes et sentant l'hérésie contre les alliés.' *Journal des théâtres* (20 October 1820). The following month, the same journal reported on the frustrations experienced in the attempt to restage the vaudeville version of *Les Pages*: 'annouced for some time at the Théâtre Vaudeville, [it] has been delayed because of an indisposition' ['annoncées depuis quelques temps au Théâtre Vaudeville [la pièce] est retardée par indisposition'], *Journal des théâtres* (11 November 1820).

[18] '*Les Pages du duc de Vendôme* [...] il fait plaisir, surtout à cause du spectacle animé qu'il présente. Quelques censeurs rigides prétendent que le Grand-Opéra n'a pas assez consulté sa dignité en allant

have reawoken in mature readers memories of the vaudeville's first appearance in Paris, only fifteen years previously, while younger audience members would have been informed by them for the first time. Indeed, such allusions may well have been deemed politically unsound during a time when, for the allies who had helped to remove Napoleon, any reminder of anti-English sentiment from the Empire years would have been wholly inappropriate. Politically inflammatory material in the vaudeville was encapsulated in phrases such as: 'Dear Elise, tomorrow we're off to bash the English'.[19] Although the vaudeville text did not exist in the ballet, it is nevertheless apparent that members of the Parisian audience were aware of the politically dubious genesis of *Les Pages*, and that the vaudeville had been steeped in inferences about Napoleon's military campaign in Europe, and that the ballet was, therefore, merely a conceptual stone's throw from the vaudeville. What these reviews did not emphasise was the extent to which these adopted resonances potentially dealt an own goal to the Bourbons.

In order for the creators of the ballet to redesign the 1807 vaudeville scenario for the consumption of audiences of 1820, they might have been expected to insist on the removal of all allusions to Napoleon's military successes in Spain. However, as we shall see, neither Gyrowetz nor Aumer responded in that way. Although, for their 1820 ballet, they added slightly to the vaudeville's plot, remarkably neither they nor the censor of the Académie Royale de Musique denounced the anachronisms inherited from the earlier work. Therefore, as the ballet retained the setting and characters of the vaudeville, political associations meant for Napoleonic audiences reoccurred blatantly in the 1820 work, albeit within a different genre, and the 1820s audience witnessed on the Bourbon stage the reincarnation of some of the Empire's allegorical icons.

The basic outline for both the vaudeville and the ballet concerned the tomfoolery of one of the Duc de Vendôme's pageboys. Welcomed back from battle by Mme de Saint-

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chercher un sujet de ballet dans la rue de Chartres; mais cette objection me semble de peu de poids, car l'essentiel est de plaire et d'amuser.' *Courrier des spectacles* (17 March 1821).

[19] 'Chère Elise, demain nous battrons les Anglais'. In fact, despite the influx of British tourists after the beginning of the Restoration, and the vogue in France for all things to do with England's Scottish neighbours, there were mixed feelings about the English themselves by 1820. After all, the English had represented a substantial portion of the peace-keeping force that humiliatingly occupied France until November 1818. Indeed in 1822, when the English company of Shakespeare players first visited Paris, they received an icy welcome. Public opinion rallied, however, and in 1827, the company returned to contrastingly positive acclaim. For details on the Shakespeare company in France see Bertier de Sauvigny, *La Restauration*, p. 353-4.

Ange and her niece Elise, the Duc de Vendôme awards honours to his senior military men, Marimon and Muret. Sending Marimon on a further campaign, Vendôme settles the remaining soldiers down for the night. Marimon's son Victor (one of Vendôme's pages), is in love with Madame de Saint-Ange's niece, and spends much of the night contriving ways to woo her. Vendôme, witnessing the page's indiscretion, but not discovering his identity, is furious at such deceitful insubordination; Elise is, after all, also favoured by Muret. Even with the help of Muret, Vendôme fails to identify the guilty boy. On the point of castigating all the pages to spite one, he is smitten with a nobler desire, and pronounces forgiveness. Thus emerges the moral of La Fontaine's fable, with all its biblical resonance: it is better to forgive one than to punish all. Such a message was fittingly propagandist for a Bourbon monarchy that was keen to forgive those among Napoleon's followers who, like Marmont and Ney, hoped to be integrated back into Bourbon society.

Among the alterations made to the plot, the ballet included a raunchy episode in which one page locks the parents of a village girl into a mill in order to gain valuable time with her. More suggestive still is the predicament of Mme de Saint-Ange in the middle of the night, when she is accidentally wooed by three impertinent pages. At first she is bemused by her anonymous lovers; then she joins Vendôme in his quest to identify them.

The Napoleonic vaudeville had relied heavily on spoken dialogue punctuated by some thirty-five short musical airs, for which well-known melodies had been given new words, and its characters had made allegorical references to key military players of the Empire. Thus, it created new layers of allegorical suggestion which were manifest in perceptive and amusing banter about the Empire's new social order, and which exploited political references to Napoleon's continuing European conquests.

The 1820 ballet was aesthetically very different from the 1807 vaudeville, despite its reuse of the earlier work's plot and characters. Titillating additions to the plot, and the inclusion of two *divertissements*, helped to create a light-weight, appealing, if not *risqué* ballet. The fact that *Les Pages* was a *ballet* was significant; *pièces de circonstance* had usually relied on aggrandising texts to push across their propagandist messages. The balletic genre offered a comparably subliminal and sensuous experience, with its through-composed music and its stylised and hedonistic body language. Any obvious heretical resonances in the plot were subdued because of the absence of spoken or sung text, and so became

subordinate to the delights of the musical score and the choreography. In other words, importantly, elements of dance, aural pleasure and spectacle superseded political statement.[20]

Gyrowetz's *Les Pages* fell at a favourable moment for French ballet. The Opéra's overall output was divided into almost equal parts between long operas, which appeared without accompanying ballets, and short operas, which were double-billed with short ballets. For many in the Opéra audience, the various balletic genres (*ballet-pantomime*, *ballet-féerie*, etc.) constituted the highlights of the repertoire. Charles de Boigne, living in Paris in the 1820s, certainly endorsed this favouritism: 'the days of five-act operas, unlucky days, abhorred, cursed by the subscribers [...]. The ballet! The subscriber dreams only of the ballet'.[21]

Stendhal (whose *Vie de Rossini* was published in 1823) was perhaps a more astute aficionado of opera than Charles de Boigne. He acknowledged the merits of ballet and placed *Les Pages* in particular within the highest echelons:

> The *Théâtre Feydeau* will be dead ten years from now and the *Grand Opéra* itself twenty years later. The government will be forced to install Italian opera in the rue Le Peletier; and there will be ballets in the interval between the acts to delight us with the artistry of the most consummate dancers in Europe. Then, at last, Grand Opera in Paris will be a sight without parallel in the entire world. Imagine, if you can, *Otello* sung by Madame Pasta, Garcia and Davide; and between the acts, the ballet *Les Pages du duc de Vendôme*.[22]

However, not all writers thought *Les Pages* as rewarding as Stendhal. A journalist from the *Journal des théâtres* vented his frustrations with it:

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[20] See Marian Smith, *Ballet and Opera in the Age of Giselle* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000) for a discussion of music in *ballet-pantomime* during the 1830s and 1840s. Although Smith's book deals principally with the two decades after the Restoration, her study provides useful insights into the standard stylistic musical content of all balletic genres, and these apply loosely to the earlier period. Smith sketches broadly the music of *divertissements* in Grand Opéra (and, by implication, those in ballet), and provides a table of the Opéra's works after 1829 (both operas and ballets) that included *divertissements* (see p. 15-18). For a broader discussion of music in Romantic ballet see Ivor Guest, *The Romantic Ballet in Paris* (London: Pitman, 1966; rev. London: Dance Books, 1980).

[21] 'les jours d'opéra en cinq actes, jours néfastes, abhorrés, maudits par l'abonné [...]. Le ballet! L'abonné ne rêve que du ballet.' Charles de Boigne, *Petits mémoires de l'Opéra* (Paris: Librairie Nouvelle, 1857), p. 17.

> Such a feeble composition, so little worthy of a grand theatre, could gain distinction only through the merit of its dance, or through new and varied back-drops; nothing of that is found in this new ballet; it would only just be worthy of the Porte-St-Martin.[23]

Les Pages evidently provoked conflicting reactions, but if, as the journalist of the *Journal des théâtres* proposed, this ballet was not a work of great quality, its success during the Restoration is indeed puzzling. The reasons for its acclaim may well have to do with the fact that the love of dance was one of the few points of consensus for French audiences during this politically uncomfortable time.

Ballet had been an integral part of the theatrical experience in the French operatic experience ever since the emergence of that genre in the seventeenth century. For Restoration audiences, therefore, ballet at the opera was a significant reflection of the tastes of the *ancien régime*. Their interest in peasant dance in particular was a throwback to the time when Enlightenment aesthetics had seduced the opera-going public into admiring the contrasts between the social classes. The Romantic interest in local colour was also influenced by the anthropological knowledge gained from Napoleon's far-flung military campaigns. Much as the fetish for classical and peasant dance genres in the theatre reflected the French taste for spectacle, it also reflected the superficiality and narcissism inherent in society's off-stage dance culture.

The music of Gyrowetz's ballet consisted in equal quantities of narrative choreography (plot development), and buoyant folk-dances that were sequenced into two lengthy *divertissements* (interludes inspired by folk-dance). The *divertissements* provided an aesthetic contrast to the narrative choreography. The first *divertissement* occurred immediately after scene 3 when the action had barely begun, and it covered some 47 pages of the conducting score.[24] The second *divertissement* occurred after the final scene (scene 17), and lasted for some 36 pages. Prior to the first *divertissement* were some 7 pages of plot

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[22] Stendhal [Henri Beyle], *Vie de Rossini* (Paris: 1823), trans. Richard N. Coe as *The Life of Rossini* (London: John Calder, 1956/1985; p. 208-209.

[23] 'Une aussi faible composition, si peu digne d'un grand théâtre, ne pouvait se distinguer que par le mérite de la danse, que par des tableaux neufs et variés; rien de tout cela ne se trouve dans le nouveau ballet; à peine serait-il digne du théâtre de la Porte-St-Martin.' *Journal des théâtres* (20 October 1820).

[24] These estimates are based on a conducting score in piano reduction that is available in three copies in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Opéra (shelfmark: Mat. 19 194 (1-3)).

development, and between the *divertissements* were a further 63 pages. In total, according to the conducting score, the *divertissements* represented more than half of the ballet's music (83 pages of *divertissements* against 72 pages of plot development). With this balance, audiences of *Les Pages* were exposed to a vast quantity of folk dance within only one act.[25] According to the *Journal des théâtres*, the unusual proliferation of peasant dances in *Les Pages* unbalanced its narrative content: 'the interminable *divertissements*, albeit executed with a rare perfection, delay it [the action] too long'.[26]

Within the first *divertissement* provincial characters danced familiar formations, the characters being indiscriminately listed amongst the dances: *villageois* and *villageoises*, *coryphées*, *premier corps*, *deuxième corps*, *troisième corps*, *petits villageois*, and *pas de trois*, and *nobles et villageois*. Interspersed were the more idiomatically Spanish flavours of a *bolero* and a *tarantelle*. The second *divertissement* contained four main dance formations: *pas seul*, *pas de deux*, *pas nobles* and a *finale* in which twelve pageboys danced together. It also contained a second *tarantelle*. Appendix 3 indicates the correspondence between the musical narrative and the dance numbers in the *divertissements*.

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[25] The first *divertissement* of two of Aumer's subsequent *ballets-pantomime* (*Alfred-le-Grand* with music by the Comte de Gallemberg, 1822, and *Aline* with music by Gustave Dugazon, 1823) each contained six and seven numbers respectively. The first *divertissement* in Les *Pages* contained ten separate numbers.

[26] 'Playwrights have often levelled complaints against choreographers; they have said that leaping about could not translate their thoughts and that pirouettes never expressed their sentiment. I do not know what the authors of the vaudeville that has furnished the subject of this ballet would like to add; for us, who wish to maintain the equilibrium between dance and poetry, we will remark that Noverre and Dauberval have been polluted one by one. The badly-guarded daughter [referring to *La Fille mal gardée*] and many others have furnished the subjects of opera, and the dancers retained their advantage [...]. Has M. Aumer, who arrives from Austria escorted by his young woman, ever been so happy? [...]. Before it begins, interminable *divertissements*, albeit executed with a rare perfection, hold it back too long. This ballet obtained little success, and the Grand-Opéra possesses one additional little silliness; tomorrow we will give you a more detailed account. For the rest we congratulate M. Aumer for having requested, in his *Avertissement*, not to judge him on a trivial work.' ['Les auteurs dramatiques ont souvent élevé des réclamations contre les chorégraphes; ils ont dit que des entrechats ne pouvaient traduire leurs pensées et que des pirouettes n'exprimaient jamais leur sentiment. Je ne sais ce que vont ajouter les auteurs d'un vaudeville qui ont fourni le sujet du ballet; pour nous, qui voulons tenir l'équilibre entre la danse et la poésie, nous ferons remarquer que Noverre et Dauberval ont été pollués à leur tour. La fille mal gardée et beaucoup d'autres ont fourni des sujets d'opéra, et l'avantage est resté aux danseurs [...]. M. Aumer, escorté de sa jeune demoiselle et qui nous arrive d'Autriche, a-t-il été aussi heureux? [...]. Avant qu'elle commence, des divertissements interminables, quoiqu'exécutés avec une rare perfection, la retardent trop long-temps. Ce ballet a obtenu peu de succes, et le Grand-Opéra possède une petite niaiserie de plus; demain nous en rendrons un compte détaillé. Au reste, nous félicitons M. Aumer

Strategic reasons that had to do with the size of the stage might explain such extensive *divertissements* in the Opéra's *pièce de circonstance.* Following the demolition of the opera house in the rue Richelieu and the company's subsequent relocation, the Opéra had only been in the Théâtre Favart for a matter of months before the première of *Les Pages.* Complaints about the size of the auditorium had already become widespread.[27] Even before the Opéra moved to the Salle Favart, fears had been expressed that the venue would be like a cage in which the singing and dancing birds of the opera and ballet would be imprisoned. On 29 December 1820, the *Journal des théâtres* described the theatre as the 'Little Favart cage' ['Petite cage Favart']. The Opéra's success had been due to some extent on the luxury of its auditorium. A journalist from the *Fanal des Théâtres* pointed to this predicament, comparing the Favart to an attic next to the old Opéra's hotel-like accommodation.

> We all know what one sacrifices when one leaves a hotel in order to lodge in an attic room; plenty of people owe their importance to the luxury of their environments.[28]

The journal's fears were well grounded; while the auditorium was much smaller than that of its previous home, so was the repertoire.[29] The Opéra management had attempted to adapt the company's repertoire to the spatial limitations of the Salle Favart by removing some of the longer works. These careful choices, reflected in a report in the *Télégraphe* on 16 August 1821 (reproduced in Appendix 1), indicated the careful choices made by the Opéra's committee. Despite the French audiences' ongoing appreciation of dance, performances of balletic genres at the Favart remained under fire from critics for reasons of their extreme physicality. Seen from close-by in that auditorium, the dancers' sweat and fatigue, the noise of their movements, and their sheer suffering were distracting to the audience:

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de nous avoir invité dans son programme à ne pas le juger sur une bagatelle.'], *Journal des théâtres* (19 October 1820).

[27] 'cut down, strangled, stifled in the little Favart auditorium [...] if the Opéra stays in the Favart for long, art will be lost' ['raccourci, étranglé, étouffé dans la petite salle de Favart [...] si l'Opéra reste à Favart long-temps, l'art est perdu'], *Fanal des théâtres* (22 March 1820).

[28] 'comme on sait tout ce qu'on perd aujourd'hui quand on quitte un hôtel pour aller se loger dans une mansarde, bien des gens ne doivent leur importance qu'au luxe qui les environne.' *Fanal des théâtres* (20 April 1820).

[29] Other journalists objected to the restrictions placed on the Opéra's repertoire by the Favart's smaller stage. The Opéra was, according to one journalist, in a 'lousy hole at the Favart' [barraqué à Favart'], *Journal des théâtres* (5 February 1821). Another reviewer complained that the best singers had abandoned the Opéra because of the move to the Salle Favart, *Fanal des théâtres* (20 April 1821).

> It is above all to dance that the Favart brings a mortal blow [...]. Dance, which has perhaps lost in grace what it has gained in force, needs to be seen from a certain distance; it is impossible to avoid being saddened by all the effort that the execution of dance costs to our pretty *bayadères*, and when the public perceives that people suffer in order to amuse them, their pleasure diminishes by half.[30]

The commentary makes clear that dance was best seen from a reasonable distance, and that when the audience was forced to sit too close any intended illusion of effortless grace on the part of the dancers was forfeited.

The limitations of the Salle Favart influenced the Opéra's decision to commission *Les Pages* as a ballet. In the *Avertissement* for the published scenario, Aumer described his commission as an artistic compromise:

> I desire only to make known to the public, if there are complaints about the frivolous genre of this work, that I would have liked to have preceded it with a different one; but that I had to concede to the desire made known to me by the Administration to see a ballet mounted that was in harmony with the present auditorium.[31]

By balancing the narrative choreography against the folk-dance forms of the *divertissements*, *Les Pages* offered a halfway solution to the problem of physical proximity in a small Favart auditorium. After all, audience members themselves were used to participating in similar dance forms at their own social events. In this light, *Les Pages*'s emphasis on peasant dance may have provided a partial solution to the unsuitability of the theatre.

The intimacy of the Théâtre Favart had other possible benefits. Seen from close-up, dancers were of significant voyeuristic interest to members of the audience. Not only did the Opéra's ballet productions justify a keen following, but the *salon* or *foyer de danse* at the Opéra (a warm-up room set aside for social interaction between audience members and

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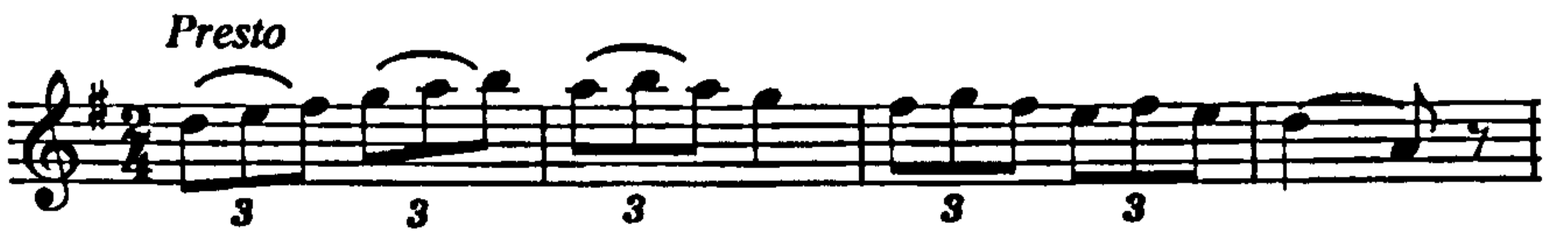
[30] 'C'est à la dance surtout que Favart portera un coup mortel [...]. La danse, qui a peut-être perdu en grace ce qu'elle a gagné en force, veut être vue d'un peu loin; il est impossible de ne pas être attristé de tout ce que l'execution coûte d'effort à nos plus jolies bayadères, et quand le public s'apperçoit qu'on souffre pour l'amuser, son plaisir diminue de moitié' *Fanal des théâtres* (20 April 1820).

[31] 'je désire seulement faire connaître au public, s'il se plaignait du genre frivole de cet ouvrage, que j'aurais préféré le faire précéder d'un autre; mais que j'ai dû céder au désir que m'a témoigné l'Administration de voir monter un Ballet en harmonie avec la salle actuelle'. Aumer, *Les Pages du duc de Vendôme,* 'Avertissement'.

dancers) unashamedly nourished the audiences' fascination with the female dancers.[32] Three times a week the dancers convened to warm up in this *temple de la volupté*, while the hungry eyes of men, and the jealous eyes of women surveyed their flexing muscles.[33] Thus, the highbrow Opéra opened its doors to a less than heroic entertainment. With performances of *Les Pages du duc de Vendôme* occurring on a regular basis, in addition to the benefits for voyeurism afforded by the unusual proximation of auditorium and stage, ballet provided a two-fold satisfaction for some audience members.

The element of Spanish colour was also a determining factor in the ballet's success. Against the ballet's narrative which was concerned with the gallivanting of the French pageboys as well as the military glory of French marshals. Spanish peasant interest provided a seductive cultural backdrop. Exotic costumes and indigenous dance forms (responding to the broader cultural idealisation of peasant culture) were of particular visual interest. The musical references to Spain fell for the most part into the two *divertissements*, notably in the *bolero* and the *tarentelles*, which were still deemed *risqué* in the world of French social dances (see Ex. 1 and Ex. 2).

Ex. 1: Gyrowetz, *Les Pages* - *Tarantelle I*



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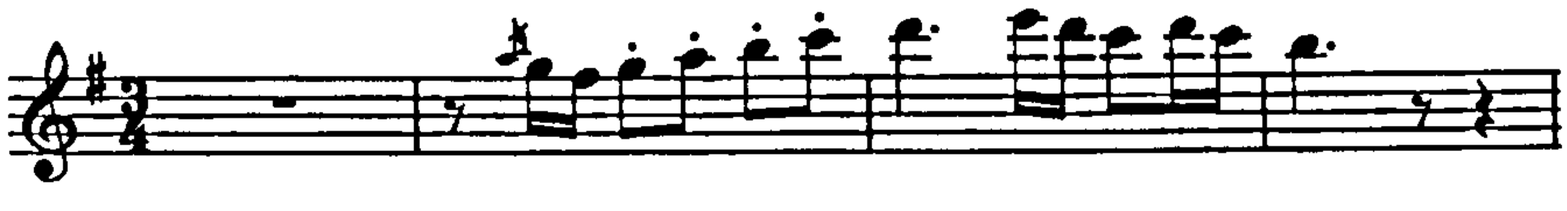
[32] For the *foyer de la danse* see Charles de Boigne, *Petits mémoires de l'Opéra*, p. 16-17, and Jules Bertaut, *Les Belles nuits de Paris* (Paris: Flammarion, 1927) p. 55-59. Note that it was for a rendezvous with his lover, the dancer Virginie Oreille, that the Duc de Berry had remained at the Opéra on the night of his assassination.

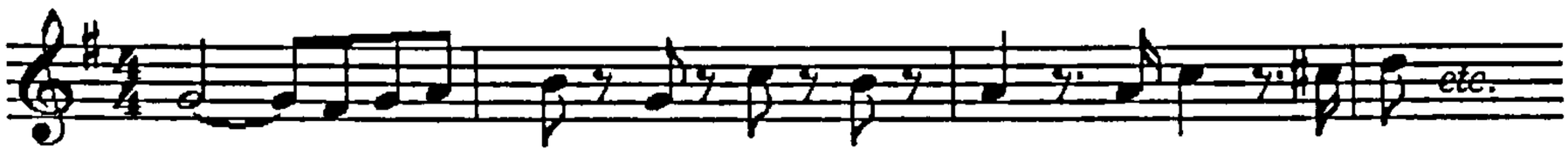
[33] Charles de Boigne used the term *temple de la volupté* in *Petits mémoires de l'Opéra*, p. 16. He describes the *foyer* as an immense and rather dour room, which used to be part of the Hotel Choiseul.

Ex. 2: Gyrowetz, *Les Pages* - *Bolero*



Countering *Les Page*'s Spanish theme, the focus on militarism (which reiterated the power of the sovereign over his people, and the necessity for the people to unite in his name), offered an opportunity for pomp and glorification. The opening of Scene 1 (in G major) used a marked military rhythm (see Ex. 3).

Ex. 3: Gyrowetz, Les Pages - Opening of scene 1



While elements of dance genre, local colour, and superficial military pomp in *Les Pages du duc de Vendôme* were capable of seducing audience's taste for spectacle, matters of ambiguous allegory, of deeper militaristic symbolism, and of geographical setting were, as will become clear, of more penetrating political interest.

Vendôme and Henri IV

Central amongst the ambiguous character names was the 'Duc de Vendôme'. Portrayed by Gyrowetz and Aumer in 1820 (as by Gersin and Dieulafoy in 1807), Vendôme was an honourable military man of fair mind and upstanding reputation. In scene 1, Mme de Saint-Ange commends Elise on the attentions the duke has shown her, and she describes him as a 'Descendant of Henri IV' and states that 'he is brave and good like him'.[34] His return from a military victory in Spain arouses great excitement, as does his distribution of honours to his men. He has the burden of passing judgement, but equally, he has the power to forgive. Like many sure-footed military heroes in the world of theatre, Vendôme's character is austere, with an edge of arrogance. He embodied power, military responsibility and humanity.

The fascinating ambiguities behind *Les Pages* begin with the fact that, while Bourbon audiences of 1820 undoubtedly identified the Duc de Vendôme with Louis XVIII, for audiences of Gersin's vaudeville of 1807 Vendôme had clearly been intended as a reflection of Napoleon. How was it possible for such a key icon to be transferred from one regime to another? Did such a transferral provoke the kind of satirical reaction meted out to Ney and Marmont in their cartoons? To begin to answer these questions we need to be familiar with the history behind the name 'Vendôme'.

Vendôme was, in fact, historically, the name of a French aristocratic dynasty; amongst the most significant members of that dynasty was Henri de Bourbon, who had been the third Duc de Vendôme before he became king of France in 1594.[35] Henri de Bourbon (also known as Henri de Navarre) married Marguerite, the daughter of Henri II of France and Catherine de Medici, on 18 August 1572. The marriage of the Protestant Henri de Bourbon to a Catholic princess had aimed to settle the religious conflict between France's Protestant Huguenots and the Catholics. Instead of unifying French religious oppositions, however, the marriage precipitated the atrocious St Bartholomew's Day Massacre a few days after the

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[34] 'Descendant d'Henri quatre, il est brave et bon comme lui' Gersin, *Les Pages du duc de Vendôme*, scene 1.

[35] The first Duc de Vendôme was Charles (1489-1537). His son Antoine (1518-1562) became the second Duc de Vendôme, and was married to Jeanne III (d'Albret) of Navarre in 1548. They produced the third Duc de Vendôme who became Henri IV.

wedding. Several thousand Protestants were murdered in Paris alone during the religious festivities of that day in an attempt by Catholics to cleanse France of its Huguenot population. Charles IX was the unpopular king at the centre of the aggression; he was to die soon afterwards in mysterious circumstances. His brother (and successor) Henri III became the victim of an assassination and, leaving no heir, his death ended the Valois dynasty. As a direct descendant of Saint-Louis, Henri de Bourbon was then proclaimed the next in line to the throne. He became the founder of the Bourbon dynasty when he was crowned Henri IV. The new king was praised for his attempts to draw France's religious oppositions together, he won military glory against the Duc de Mayenne at the Bataille d'Ivry in 1590, and was remembered as a martyr by Bourbon sympathisers after his assassination in 1610. Two of Henri IV's sons assumed his former title of Vendôme, continuing a dynasty that was, however, to prove increasingly less charismatic.

In spite of his popularity as a historical figure, there were many reasons why Henri IV was not unequivocally the best choice for the propaganda of Catholic dynasties. Henri had, after all, begun his political career as a Protestant usurper and a renowned heretic, questioning the authority of the long-reigning Valois crown. He was twice disloyal to his Protestant religion by swearing allegiance to Catholicism, first on pain of death during the St Bartholomew's Day crisis, and a second time as a ploy to reconcile religious opposition during his subsequent reign. Henri IV had also fathered several illegitimate children, an ignominious circumstance, albeit relatively common within European monarchies.[36]

In the light of these failings, if the Bourbons (or indeed Napoleon) were to succeed in exploiting this historic figure in iconography (as Henri IV or as Vendôme), they needed to conceal the less flattering details.[37] For the puppeteers above the strings of Bourbon propaganda, it was to be hoped that any discrepancies could be ironed out easily in Restoration portrayals. It was natural for the Bourbons to want to exploit the metaphor of an assassinated king after 14 February 1820. The fact that, like Henri IV, the Duc de Berry died at the hand of an assassin afforded a useful reference between the two royal figures.

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[36] Indeed, the Duc de Berry fathered several illegitimate children. For details of his relationships, and of the children he had with Amy Brown and Virginie Oreille, see Jacques Vidal de la Blache, *Marie Caroline, Duchesse de Berry* (Paris: France-Empire, 1980), p. 47.

[37] Henri IV's illegitimate son César de Bourbon headed the subsequent succession of Vendôme dukes. All military men, the Vendômes continued to battle over the land of Europe until the Vendôme branch died out in the early eighteenth century.

Nevertheless, Henri IV's assassin had been a Catholic fanatic, and this proved a difficult cross for the Bourbons to bear in the light of their devotion to the Catholic faith.

In order to understand fully the political implications behind the character of Vendôme in the Bourbon ballet *Les Pages du duc de Vendôme*, we need to examine in some depth the history and reception of portrayals of Henri IV in pre-Restoration musical and non-musical works. Despite the need for discreet historical diplomacy, the figure of Henri IV had left a burning trail through the constitutional shifts from the end of the eighteenth century to the beginning of the nineteenth. Among the many examples of Henri IV's invocation on the stage during the late *ancien régime* two significant works were both created for the accession of Louis XVI in 1774: Jean-Paul-Gilles Martini's *drame-lyrique Henri IV, ou la Bataille d'Ivry* (at the Comédie-Italien), and Charles Collé's play *La Partie de chasse d'Henri IV* (at the Théâtre Français). The latter had a particularly controversial reception, details of which will shed light on the reception of Henri IV during the Restoration.

Charles Collé's play *La Partie de chasse de Henri IV* had followed an uncertain political path. Its final version was completed in 1764, but Collé withdrew the work for fear that his portrayal of Sully as a minister capable of questioning the integrity of his king, might have been misrepresented against the country's tepid reception of Louis XV, and his dismissal of his minister the Duc de Choiseul.[38] Consequently *La Partie de chasse* was performed only at private events until the accession of Louis XVI in 1774, when it was premièred at the Comédie-Française.[39] In the atmosphere of celebration, allegorical representations of Henri IV as the ancestor of Louis XVI were suddenly in full vogue, so much so that the words 'RESURREXIT' were even engraved at the base of a statue of Henri on the Pont Neuf.[40]

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[38] Choiseul, the foreign minister of Louis XV, was responsible for reorganising France after the Seven Years War, and for reunifying both the Lorraine region and Corsica with France. Louis dismissed him in 1770 after pressure from Mme du Barry and her cohort.

[39] See Rodmell, *French Drama of the Revolutionary Years*, p. 24 and p. 71-72.

[40] See illustration listed in Georges Victor Antoine Gratet-Duplessis, *Collection de Hennin: Inventaire de la collection d'estampes relatives à l'histoire de France léguée à la Bibliothèque Nationale ... par Hennin*, 4 vols (Paris: Champion, 1877-84), vol. 4, no. 13977. Claude Duneton discusses the chansons *Un roi de vingt ans*, and *La Résurrection de Henri IV* (both 1774) in *Histoire de la chanson* (vol. 1, *'des Origines à 1780'*; vol. 2, *'de 1780 à 1860'*) (Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1998) vol. 1, p. 979-83. One image of the Henri IV statue was embellished with the words

In his introductory *Avis* to *La Partie de chasse*, Collé had intimated the adulatory motivation behind his portrayal of Henri IV, and defended his decision to pair Henri IV with his first minister Sully:

> The names of Henri IV and Sully are so dear to the Nation that an Author can almost anticipate the success of a Work in which he has the happiness of recalling the adored memory of this great King, and this worthy Minister.[41]

For the première of *La Partie de chasse*, Collé added three new verses to the popular chanson *Vive Henri IV*, which he had incorporated in a dining and drinking scene within his drama (musical notation was provided) (Act 3, scene 11). Ironically, the original verse (allegedly authored by Henri IV around 1600) emphasised the king's three most dubious characteristics: drinking, fighting and philandering:[42]

Vive Henri IV,	Long live Henri IV,
Vive ce roi vaillant!	Long live the valliant king!
Ce diable à quatre	That devil on all fours
A le triple talent	Has the triple talent
De boire et de battre	Of drinking and fighting
Et d'être un vert galant.	And being a galant young man.

Collé's new verses of 1774 carefully imitated the old French style, adding a feminine accent in the middle of each line. The additional material counterbalanced the originally bawdy text with a measure of sobriety (see Ex. 4):

'He had the love of the people and Louis XVI is his heir' ['Il eut l'amour du peuple et Louis XVI est son héritier'], *Collection de Vinck*, vol. 2, no. 3859.

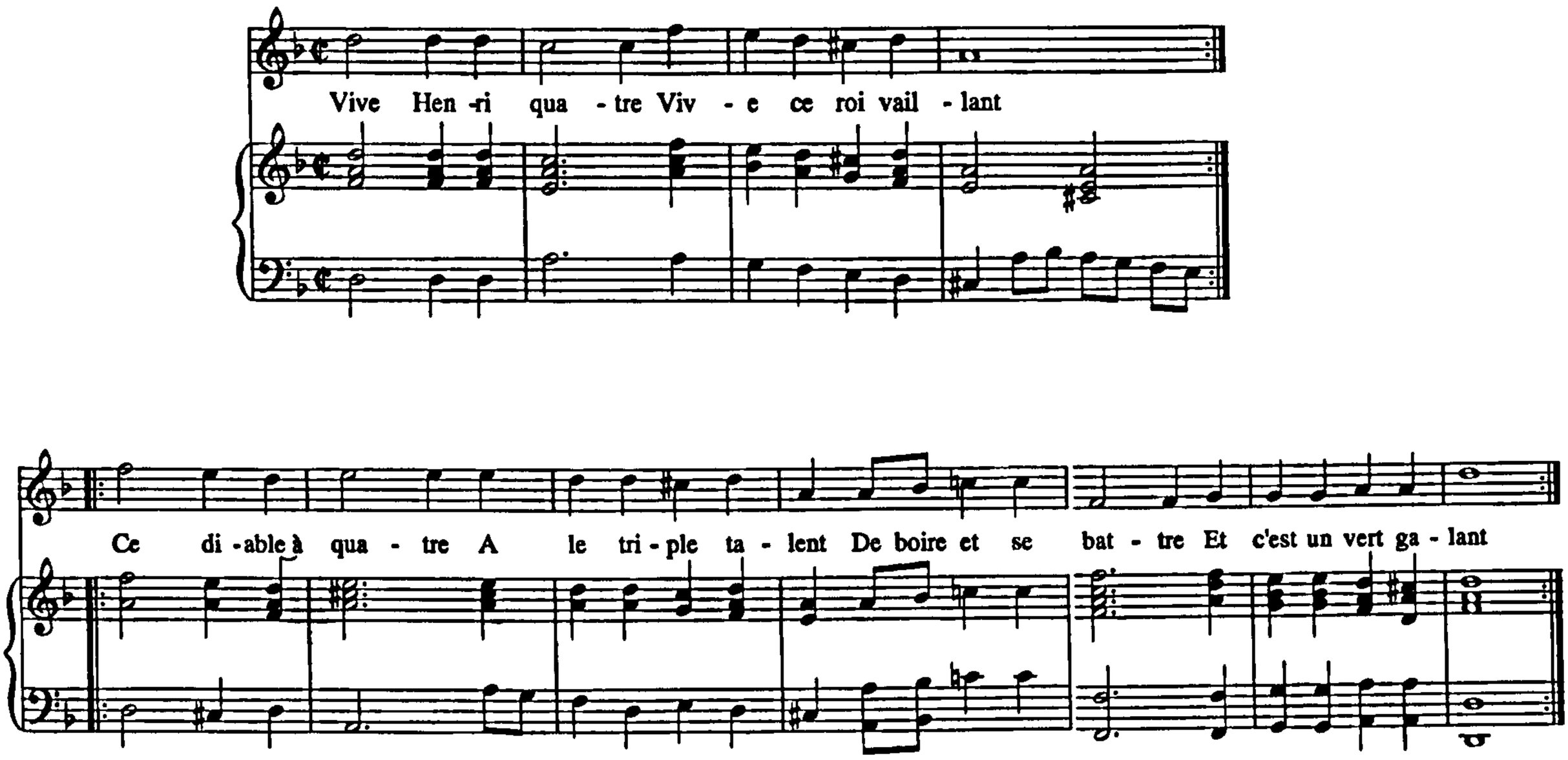
[41] 'Les noms de Henri IV et de Sully sont si chers à la Nation qu'un Auteur peut presque se flatter de la réussite d'un Ouvrage dans lequel il a le bonheur de rappeller la mémoire adorée de ce grand Roi, et de ce digne Ministre.' Charles Collé, *La Partie de chasse de Henri IV* (Paris: Duchesne, 1766), *Avertissement*, p. vii. Collé's play was based on Robert Dodsley's *The King and the Miller of Mansfield.*

[42] The text of the first verse was supposedly added by Henri IV to the air *La Cassandre* in 1601. The melody was published by J. B. C. Ballard in the *Clé des chansonniers* of 1725, see Duneton, *Histoire de la chanson,* vol. 1, p. 338-9 for a historical description, and p. 1015 for the melody. *Vive Henri IV* had also been used by André-Ernest-Modeste Grétry in his opera *Le Magnifique*, a *comédie mise en musique* in three acts on a libretto by Michel-Jean Sedaine (Paris, 1773).

Au diable guerres,	To the devil with wars,
Rancunes et partis,	Grudges and parties,
Comme nos pères,	Like our fathers,
Chantons en vrais amis	Let's sing like real friends
Au choc des verres,	To the clink of glasses,
Les roses et les lys.	The roses and the lilies.
Chantons l'antienne	Let's sing the refrain
Qu'on chant'ra dans mille ans.	They'll sing in a thousand years.
Que Dieu maintienne	That God keeps
En paix ses descendants,	Those descendants in peace,
Jusqu'à c'qu'on prenne	Until they take
La lune avec les dents.	The moon with their teeth.
Vive la France,	Long live France,
Vive le roy Henri!	Long live king Henri!
Qu'à Reims on danse,	At Reims they dance,
Disant comme Paris	Saying, as they do in Paris,
Vive la France,	Long live France,
Vive le roy Henri! [43]	Long live king Henri!

[43] Duneton, *Histoire de la chanson française,* vol. 1, p. 338-39. Charles Collé (1709-1783) was a renowned chansonnier as well as a playwright. He was one of the founders of the collection 'Caveau' (1737) with its satirical title *Clé du Caveau* ('key to the *cellar*' but also 'key to the *tomb*').

Ex. 4: *Vive Henri IV*



The 1774 version of *Vive Henri IV* intended to underline the lineage between Henri IV and France's new king Louis XVI, and to encourage confidence in the new monarch as a patriarch ('Comme nos pères'). Collé's new verses held promises for a pleasurable and safe heritage ('on chant'ra dans mille ans' and 'en paix ses descendants'). The reference to Reims ensured that the new version could be adopted for future coronations.

Collé's play had been conceived as a pro-Bourbon work, but its acknowledgement of the influence exercised by Sully over Henri IV was readily converted by Louis XVI's enemies into anti-Bourbon propaganda when the new king's relationship with his powerful Minister of State, Jacques Necker, failed towards the Revolution. Necker had encouraged Louis to recall parliament in 1788, and on 5 May the following year he made a controversial liberal speech (the *Discours d'ouverture des Etats général*) which resulted in his dismissal on 11 July 1789. His sacking kindled public manifestations and contributed to the decision to storm the Bastille three days later.[44] Thus, when *La Partie de chasse* was revived on 5

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[44] See 'Necker', *Grand Larousse encyclopédique*.

September 1791 at the Comédie-Française (renamed the Théâtre de la Nation), its focus on the relationship between king and minister was considered to be provocative.[45]

The substantial failure of another Henri IV work, Etienne-Nicolas Méhul's *opéra-comique, Le Jeune Henri* (1797), provides a useful illustration of the malleability of Henri IV as a political icon. Méhul's *Le Jeune Henri* (libretto by Jean-Nicolas Bouilly) was premièred under the Directorate on 1 May 1797 at the Opéra-Comique. The work had been conceived as *La Jeunesse d'Henri IV* in 1790, during the post-Revolutionary lull in which Louis XVI returned to the Tuileries, but it was held back as Louis's position became untenable. It was eventually premièred in 1797, when its title and its character names were modified to suit the changed constitutional milieu. Thus, the presence of Henri IV was played down, and *La Jeunesse d'Henri IV* became simply *Le Jeune Henri.* Such a tactic was intended to please both parties in a politically divided audience, both those that had supported, and those that had rejected the regicide of Louis XVI in 1793.

Le Jeune Henri, however, failed utterly after its première in 1797, and the score was lost. Only the overture, which was renamed *La Chasse du Jeune Henri*, survived. Patrick Taïeb outlines two possible reasons for the failure of Méhul's opera, and assesses the iconographical function of Henri IV.[46] Firstly he points to the climate of political repression during the Directorate, and secondly, to the mediocrity of the opera's text.[47] Taïeb adds to these possibilities the idea that symbolic aspects of the music (in particular the sounds of the hunt, and any other sounds that evoked ideas of lost utopia), might have been deemed insensitive during the time when the Directorate was culling the aristocracy. If Taïeb's suppositions are correct, then the failure of Méhul's *Le Jeune Henri* cannot be blamed outright on the problematic reception of Henri IV as the eponymous hero.

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[45] For details about the political furore caused by a performance of this work in May 1791, see Hemmings, *Theatre and State in France*, p. 124. Negative associations between the ministries of Sully and Necker caused the work's temporary withdrawal. Under the Revolution *Vive Henri IV* was inserted into a stage work called *Le Tombeau des Aristocrates.*

[46] Patrick Taïeb, '*La chasse du jeune Henri* (Méhul, 1797), une analyse historique', *Revue de musicologie*, vol. 83, no. 2 (1997), p. 205-246.

[47] Taïeb agrees with Elizabeth C. Bartlet's study of Méhul for this line of his argument. See *Étienne-Nicolas Méhul and Opera during the French Revolution, Consulate, and Empire: a Source, Archival and Stylistic Study* (PhD diss. Musicology, University of Chicago, 1982). See also her book *Etienne Nicolas Méhul and Opera : Source and Archival Studies of Lyric Theatre during the French Revolution, Consulate and Empire*, 2 vols (Heilbronn: Musik-Edition Lucie Galland, 1999).

The rejection of Méhul's opera offered an important indication of the political fragility that haunted the production and reception of historical works towards the turn of the century. In the case of this opera, despite the climate of constitutional disruption, an attempt had clearly been made to redirect the meaning of historical symbolism. Strong historical symbols such as Henri IV, therefore, provided a familiar guarantee of currency for art, no matter which regime was at the helm.

During the Empire, Henri IV's reputation became part of Napoleon's propaganda campaign when the Emperor claimed legitimacy as ruler of France and adopted Henri IV as his own alter ego.[48] In recognition of the 1806 celebrations, various serious works about Henri IV were satirised in parodies. That year, for example, Gabriel Legouvé's *La Mort de Henri IV roi de France*, a five-act *tragédie* in verse at the Théâtre Français was parodied in *Les Quatre Henri, ou le Jugement du meunier Lieursaint* by Henri Simon with Gersin and Dieulafoi (the pair of writers who, within a year as we know, were to write the vaudeville *Les Pages du duc de Vendôme*).[49]

For the audience of the vaudeville *Les Pages* of 1807, the fact that Vendôme was synonymous with Henri IV was confirmed in the vaudeville's final pardoning scene. Like Collé, the vaudeville authors had seen fit to incorporate a rumbustious rendition of *Vive Henri IV* towards the end of their work. Immediately after Victor's exultant outburst of 'Vive Monseigneur! Le descendant de Henri Quatre!' the company disssolves into the rousing chorus:

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[48] Maurice Agulhon's comments on the decision to place Napoleon on the top of the Colonne Vendôme indicate the extent to which mythological and historical iconography was in competition with current heroes: 'The Vendôme column was erected and, following some hesitation as to whether to crown it with a Minerva (kind of Republic, but more sedate) or a Charlemagne (epitome of European power), Napoleon allowed himself to be won over by his flatterers and had the column celebrate his own person.' Maurice Agulhon, *Marianne into Battle, Republican Imagery and Symbolism in France, 1789-1880*, trans. Janet Lloyd (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 1981), p. 36; originally *Marianne au combat: l'imagerie et la symbolique républicaine de 1789-1880* (Paris: Flammarion, 1979), fn. 73.

Tolstoy's quotation of *Vive Henri IV* in *War and Peace* bore witness to the fact that the song was associated later in the nineteenth century with the Empire (see Tolstoy, *War and Peace*, p. 1298-1299).

[49] Legouvé's tragedy was premièred on 25 June 1806, while the parody *Les Quatre Henri* appeared on 2 August 1806. For a chronological listing of these and other parodies see Seymour Travers, *French Theatrical Parodies 1789-1914* (New York: King's Crown Press, 1940).

De sa clémence,	Who could be astonished
Qui pourrait s'étonner?	By his clemency,?
Dès son enfance,	Since his childhood,
D'un Roi qui sut régner,	From a King who knew how to reign,
Il apprit d'avance,	He learned in advance,
A vaincre et pardonner.[50]	To vanquish and pardon.

Napoleon's adoption of Vendôme as a pseudonym of Henri IV, and its widespread popular use as a cultural metaphor during the Empire, symbolised Napoleon's appropriation of the Bourbons' territory as well as their historical iconography.

While *Vive Henri IV* evidently carried the iconic figure of Henri IV from one regime to another, Henri IV idolatry was also behind the establishment of the monumental *Colonne Vendôme*. Like Henri-IV-iconography, it had accrued a complicated past.[51] In 1699, the recently built Place des Conquêtes had been renamed Place Louis-le-Grand, and an equestrian statue of Louis XIV by François Girardon had been inaugurated at its centre. A

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[50] Aumer, *Les Pages du duc de Vendôme*, 'Avertissement'.

[51] The square known today as Place Vendôme had begun its life in 1686 under the name Place des Conquêtes, at the initiative of François Michel Le Tellier Louvois. The Hôtel Vendôme and a *couvent de capucines* were demolished to provide the site. Work on the square came to a halt at the death of Louvois (1691), and was resumed in 1699 under the guidance of Mansart, who gave the area its octagonal shape, and its Corinthian proportions. After some thirty years of iconographical struggle between Napoleon and the Bourbons Louis-Philippe inaugurated a statue of Napoleon in military dress, which was to remain there throughout the July Monarchy. After the column was destroyed during the Commune (1871), it was rebuilt (1873-74), and this reproduction remains standing today. See 'Vendôme', *Grand Larousse Universel* (Paris: Librairie Larousse, 1991).

The Arc de Triomphe was another prominent memorial that bore witness to Napoleon's military supremacy, and which was similarly adopted by the Restoration Bourbons. Begun by Napoleon in 1809, but unfinished at his fall, the Bourbons did not attempt to complete the work; by 1830 still only the stumps of the Arc were visible. Nevertheless, the site was used as the focal point for state festivities. In 1823, for example, the *Arc* was at the centre of the celebrations of the Duc d'Angoulême's Spanish campaign. A journalist described the scene: 'The revolving apparatus of huge mechanical torches' ['lenticulaire à feu'] for the illumination of beacons, which were exhibited at the Louvre and which are now found on the Arc de Triomphe at the gateway of the Etoile, had to be lit yesturday evening on the occasion of the return of his Royal Highness the Duc d'Angoulême. It is irritating that the weather was not more favourable.' ['L'appareil lenticulaire à feux tournants, pour l'éclairage des phares, qui a été exposé au Louvre et qui se trouve placé maintenant sur l'arc de triomphe de la barrière de l'Etoile, a dû être allumé avant-hier soir à l'occasion du retour de S. A. R. Mgr. le duc d'Angouleme. Il est fâcheux que le temps n'ait pas été plus favorable,'] *Corsaire* (4 November 1823). The Arc de Triomphe was completed in 1836 during the July Monarchy.

century later, on 11 August 1792, that statue was pulled down by revolutionaries and the square took the name Place des Piques (from 1793). In 1799, in a move that was emblematic of Napoleon's attempts to prove his kinship with the Vendôme line, the square was renamed Place de Vendôme. The Colonne Vendôme (a bronze-cast imitation of the Trajan Column in Rome) was inaugurated in 1810 after four years of work. The bronze originated from some 1,200 cannons captured at the Battle of Austerlitz in 1805, and the column was dedicated to the Empire's military glory. During the subsequent power struggle between Napoleon and the Bourbons, the column became a focal point for the propaganda battle. Among the statues that crowned it were Napoleon as Cesar (during the Empire), Henri IV (during the First Restoration), Napoleon in a riding coat (during the Hundred Days), and a *fleur de lys* (during the Second Restoration). During the Restoration, the fact that the Colonne Vendôme, created as it was from the spoils of Napoleon's military victories, was still standing in the place that had been renamed *Place Vendôme* under Napoleon's regime created a strange irony. With such a complex history of image manipulation, the use of Henri IV as an icon of Bourbon propaganda during the Restoration was, as is becoming clear, fraught with ambiguity.

Vendôme and the Restoration

As Henri IV's elevation before the French people was crucial to the monarchy's interests during the Restoration, Bourbon supporters spared no effort in trying to restore him (along with many of his ancestors) to the lofty position he had held before the Revolution.[52] An association between Louis XVIII and Henri IV was, on the face of it, not difficult to promote. Indeed, Louis XVIII's onerous task of reconciling the opposing factions of the Restoration was clearly comparable to the task of political and religious reconciliation that had fallen to Henri IV following the atrocities of the St Bartholomew's Day Massacre. The signal for this iconographical approach was confirmed in an allegorical print entitled *Voeu*

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[52] Bann, *Romanticism and the Rise of History*, p. 137. Bann is referring to Karl Marx's comment on the Restoration: 'Its real military leaders sat behind the office desks, and the hog-headed Louis XVIII was its political chief' in *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1984), p. 11.

Plate 3: Voeu des français. Pièce allégorique...
Louis XVIII vêtu des habits royaux s'appuie sur le buste de Henri IV.

des français. Pièce allégorique ... Louis XVIII vêtu des habits royaux s'appuie sur le buste de Henri IV (see Plate 3).[53]

However, despite the Bourbons' efforts to eliminate links between Vendôme and Napoleon, the site of the monument, and therefore any associations with the Duc de Vendôme, were both irredeemably connected to the Emperor. Even as the Duc de Vendôme was being proffered as a Bourbon hero, a fascinating scenario had become embedded in the history of the Vendôme statue. The history of another monument, the equestrian portrait of Henri IV on the Pont Neuf (1818), was rife with a similar level of political ambiguity to that surrounding the Colonne Vendôme. It was public knowledge, for instance, that Henri IV and his horse had been created out of recently removed melted-down metal from sculptures of Napoleon (including the statue from the top of the Colonne Vendôme).[54] Less well known was the fact that Quesnel, the sculptor of the equestrian statue, was a hardened Bonapartist. Horrified by the task he had to undertake, he was reported to have concealed a small statue of Napoleon in Henri IV's right arm, and to have filled the stomach of the horse with copies of anti-monarchist songs.[55] A print entitled *Rétablissement de la statue de Henri IV sur le Pont Neuf: 25 août 1818* depicts the newly erected statue from a flattering angle (see Plate 4).[56]

Like the plastic arts, the chanson writers had a field day with the iconographical comparison between Henri IV and Louis XVIII. A popular song called *La Ressemblance* was one of several examples (see Ex. 5):[57]

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[53] *Voeu des français. Pièce allégorique...Louis XVIII vêtu des habits royaux s'appuie sur le buste de Henri IV*, in Gratet-Duplessis, *Collection de Hennin*, vol. 4, no. 13653. Bann describes Henri IV as: 'founder of the Bourbon dynasty and, moreover, a king specially associated with the reconciliation of warring factions in the interests of national unity.' Bann, *Romanticism and the Rise of History*, p. 68.

[54] For the inauguration in 1818, twenty pairs of bulls dragged the statue from the casting foundry to the Carrefour Marigny. Hundreds of Bourbon supporters took position to pull the huge figure to the Pavillon de Flore at the Tuileries. The next day, seventy marine horses dragged the statue to its position on the Pont Neuf. See Castelot, *Le Grand Siècle à Paris*, p. 197-8.

[55] Castelot, *Le Grand Siècle à Paris*, p. 197-8.

[56] For *Rétablissement de la statue de Henri IV sur le Pont Neuf: 25 août 1818*, see Gratet-Duplessis, *Collection de Hennin*, vol 4, no. 13997.

[57] See Pierre Barbier and France Vernillat, *Histoire de France par les chansons*, 8 vols (Paris: Gallimard, third ed. 1956-61), vol. 6, p. 60-61. Stendhal noted the prevalence of Henri IV references in literature, stating that the sixteenth-century writer Théodore Agrippa d'Aubigné's *Les Aventures du Baron de Foeneste*, 'paints the portrait of Henry IV almost as faithfully as *Quentin*

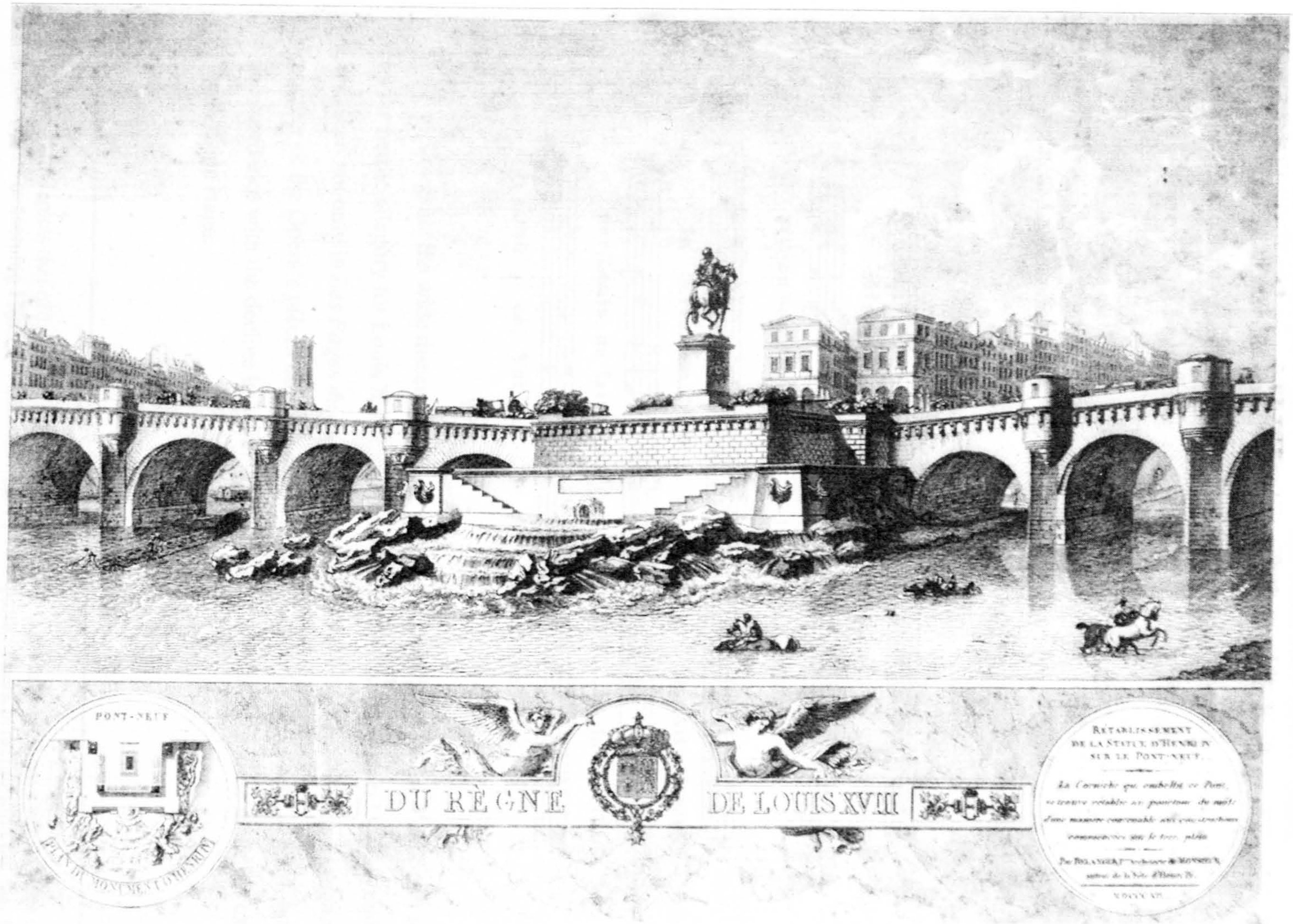
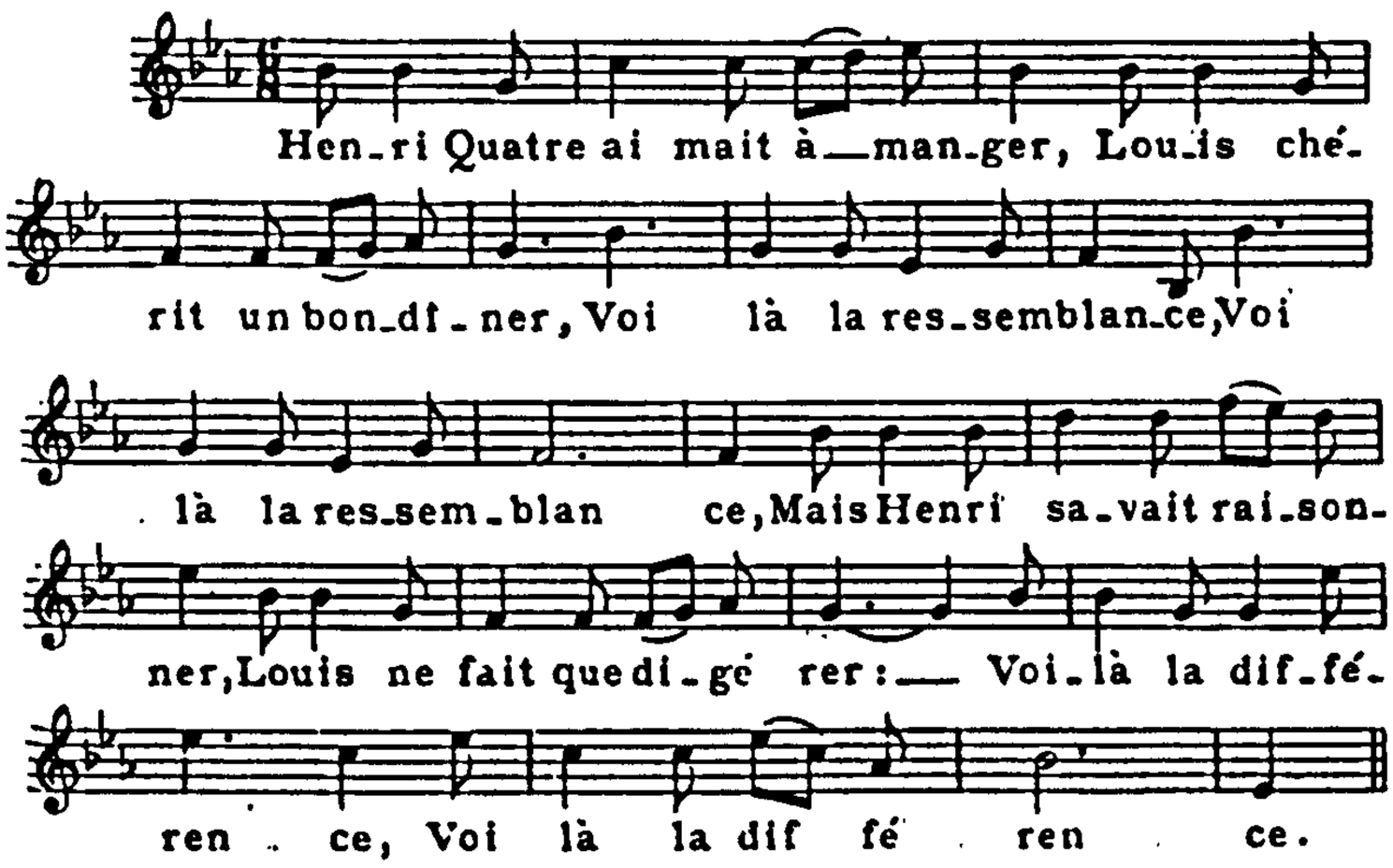


Plate 4: Rétablissement de la statue d'Henri IV sur le Pont Neuf.

Henri Quatre liked to eat,
Louis loves a good dinner
There's the ressemblance,
There's the ressemblance,

But Henri knew how to reason,
Louis can only just stomach it.
There's the difference
There's the difference.

Ex. 5: La Ressemblance



Alongside the wide dissemination of works in which Henri IV (or Vendôme) featured as the heroic allegory for Louis XVIII and members of his family. Henri IV (as Vendôme) was seen not only in *Les Pages du duc de Vendôme*, but also in *Vendôme en Espagne*, another of the Opéra's *pièces de circonstance*. After Louis XVIII's death in 1824, however, in accordance with the decline in the number of special events, Vendôme made his exit from the Parisian stage.

Durwood depicts that of Louis XI.' Stendhal continued: 'I discovered there a whole store of anecdotes concerning Henri IV, none of which I dare quote. There is no question but that this monarch was a great man; but he was most certainly *not* a milk-and-water saint.' Stendhal, *The Life of Rossini*, p. 91, fn. 1. He also made the point that such comparisons were highly ambiguous: 'There are some most striking resemblances between Henri IV and Napoleon' Stendhal, *The Life of Rossini*, p. 91, fn. 1.

From the onset of the Restoration, the chanson *Vive Henri IV* was brandished again as a symbol of Bourbon sovereignty among the lower and higher cultural spheres. To underline Napoleon's defeat, the melody was used satirically with the new words: *Meurs Bonaparte, meurs infâme tyran!* ('Die Bonaparte, die infamous tyrant!').[58] The song was also inserted into the fabric of innumerable theatrical works. It was integrated into *Les Dieux rivaux, ou les Fêtes de Cythère* (21 June 1816), the high-profile collaborative *pièce de circonstance* which, as we know, was given at the Opéra to celebrate the marriage of the Duc and Duchesse de Berry. *Les Dieux rivaux*'s eclectic *ancien-régime* mannerisms were described pejoratively in the *Mercure de France*, and clearly *Vive Henri IV* was part of the problem: 'This lyric-grotesque hotchpotch ended with a hale and hearty song [a *pont-neuf*] sung by Bacchus [the Greek god of fertility and wine] to the tune of *Vive Henri IV*'.[59] Thus, the combined mythological and historical symbolism within this early-Restoration *pièce de circonstance* was revealed to be little more than a badly wrought veneer above an anachronistic framework.

Vive Henri IV was still a fashionable source for propaganda in 1821 when Paër's orchestral variations on its melody celebrated the Opéra's arrival in the Salle Le Pelletier on 16 August (see Ex. 6).[60]

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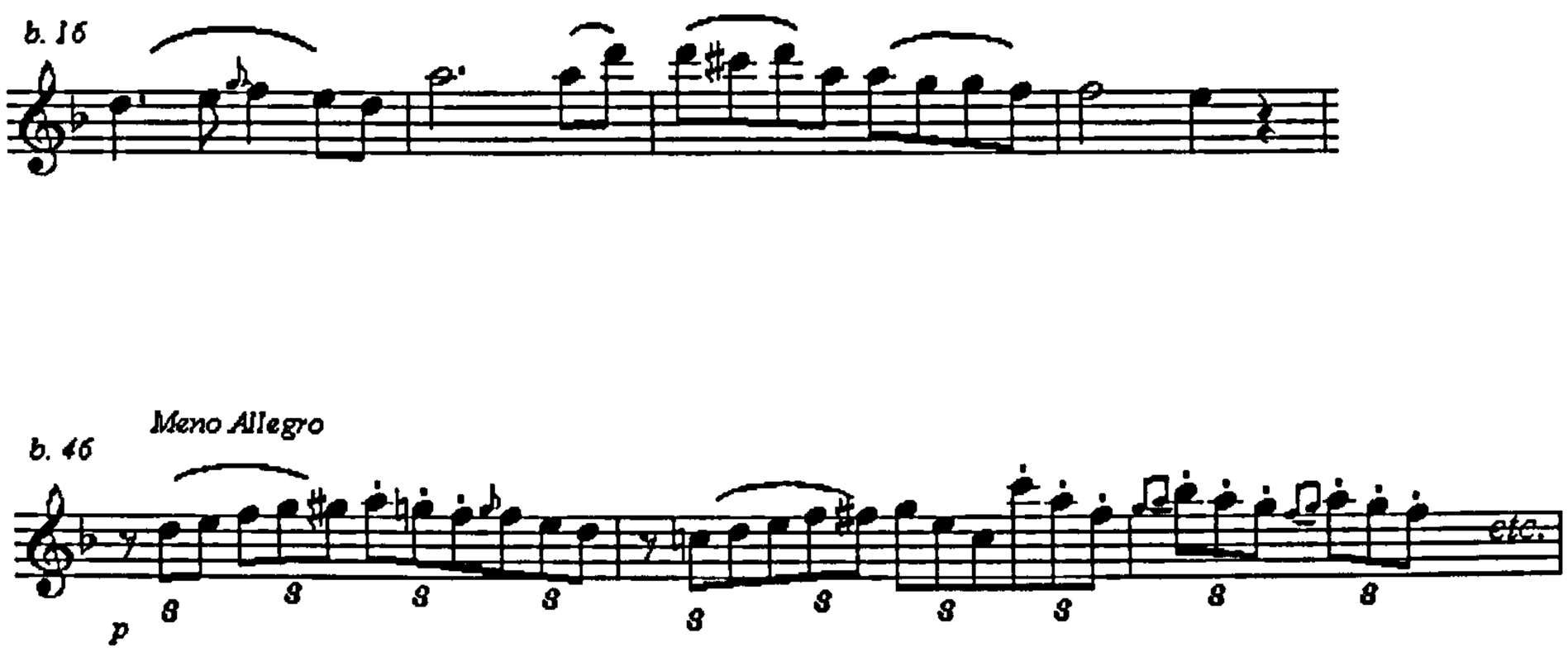
[58] Barbier and Vernillat, *Histoire de France par les chansons*, vol. 6, p. 130.

[59] 'cette macédoine lyrico-grotesque se termine par un pont-neuf que chante Bacchus sur l'air de *Vive Henri Quatre*' *Mercure de France* (4 January 1817). 'Pont-neuf' was the name given to the (mainly political and satirical) chansons created and sold on the Pont Neuf since the completion of that bridge under Henri IV, see France Vernillat, and Jacques Charpentreau, *Dictionnaire de la chanson française* (Paris: Librairie Larousse, 1968), p. 201-2.

[60] See *Vive Henri IV en variations à grand orchestre à l'usage des théâtres de France* (Paris: Nadermann, 1814). Barbier and Vernillat give 1821 as the year of composition, but the variations were evidently produced for the return of the Bourbons in 1814, see Barbier and Vernillat, *Histoire de France par les chansons*, vol. 1, p. 130.

Ex. 6: Paër, *Vive Henri IV en variations* (1814) – Variations 1 and 3 (articulation inconsistencies come from the edition).



However, even by 1823, the Parisian public's increasing disenchantment with the monarchy was reflected symbolically in its flagging enthusiasm for *Vive Henri IV*. Delaforest noted as a 'chose remarquable' that in 1823, during a benefit concert on the anniversary of the entry of Louis XVIII to Paris, the audience refused to let the orchestra play the melody.[61]

While Napoleon had used the names of Vendôme and Henri IV to emphasise his own military prowess, the Bourbons used these iconographical names to emphasise their dynastic blood-ties. One important Restoration painting, Marie-Philippe Coupin de la Couperie's *Vue du monument qui renferme le coeur de Henri IV* (1819) underlined the message of paternalistic regeneration that was being demonstrated in musical iconography (see Plate 5).[62]

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[61] 'The people refused to listen to the air *Vive Henri IV*, which the musicians had prepared to perform during the interval' ['On a refusé d'écouter l'air de *Vive Henri IV*, que les musiciens s'apprêtaient à exécuter dans un entr'acte'], Delaforest, *Théâtre moderne*, p. 187 (17 May 1823).

[62] Coupin de la Couperie's painting *Vue du monument qui renferme le coeur de Henri IV* (Musée national du château de Pau) was completed in 1819, and was submitted to the French Salon of 1820, see Bann, *Romanticism and the Rise of History*, p. 68-75. Although Sully was *Premier Ministre* under Henri IV only from 1605-1610, he had worked closely with the king since his first appointment as *Conseil des Finances* in 1596. Sully's career as a liberal politician was shattered with the death of Henri IV and the arrival of the hard-line Catholic policies of Marie de Médicis and her entourage.

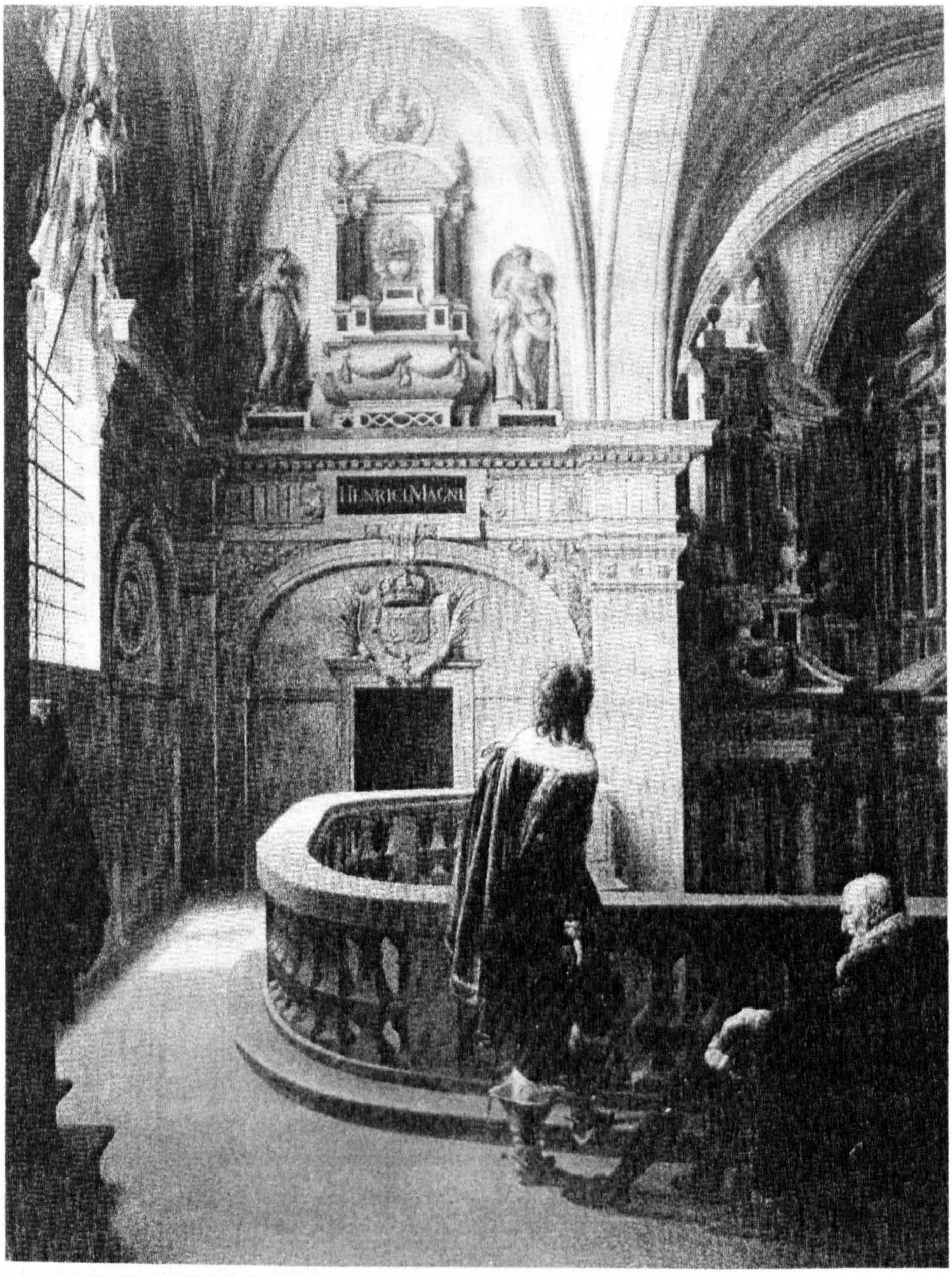

Plate 5 : Vue du monument qui renferme le coeur de Henri IV (1819).

Here, as in Collé's *La Partie de Chasse*, Henri IV was again partnered with his minister Sully. Coupin de la Couperie portrayed an ancient Sully collapsed in a chair while his virile grandson gazes at a sun-drenched monument which encloses the heart of Henri IV, and on which the Latin inscription *Henrici Magni* is clearly legible. For Restoration viewers, the painting was rife with the imagery of the martyrdom of Christ, which transmuted into the symbolic beating heart of the monarchy, and its precious bloodline. The fact that the painting became the property of Louis XVIII indicated the symbolic value the king placed on it.[63]

Coupin de la Couperie proposed a high moral tone for the symbolism of Henri IV. Not only is the familiar theme of old age and replenishing youth clear in the painting, but the painting also highlights the interdependent relationship that existed between king and government, through which power and wisdom were combined to create a formidable dynamism.[64] Reviewing the paintings of the Paris Salon of 1819 (at which Coupin's painting was shown) the critic Gault de Saint-Germain wrote 'Let kings be instructed by the ruins and debris of a past reign! [...]. The lugubrious colour of twilight that surrounds the refuge of tombs is heartfelt poetry.'[65] For the Restoration, the symbolic image of a great minister honouring the memory of the founding Bourbon king represented an entreaty for the French people to rally round the sagacious establishment of the monarchy.

More than this, however, the painting reflected a disconcerting voyeurism, in which history looks in on itself just as Sully looks back to his own youth through the eyes of the young man. With its pillars and curtains, the formal design is, like many images of its time, suggestive of a theatrical stage. Consequently, Coupin's painting can be seen as a portent of the destiny of the Restoration, inasmuch as, like many theatrical works of the day, it predicted the migration of the actual monarchy to the stage-show of historical propaganda.

In promoting Henri IV as a Bourbon martyr, Coupin helpfully deflected the focus away from the culpability of Catholicism in Henri's assassination. For sympathisers of the

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[63] Louis XVIII bought the painting from the Salon of 1819 for 8,000 FF, Wright, *Painting and History*, p. 74 and p. 193-4 (fn. 24).

[64] Bann discusses these aspects of Coupin's painting in *Romanticism and the Rise of History*, p. 68-75.

[65] Pierre Marie Gault de Saint-Germain, *Choix des productions de l'art les plus remarquables exposées dans le Salon de 1819* (Paris: l'Auteur, 1819), p. 36-38, cited in translation in Wright, *Painting and History*, p. 75.

bereaved Duchesse de Berry in particular, Coupin's painting was soon to provide an especially poignant symbol of martyrdom. After the assassination of the Duc de Berry in 1820, Louis XVIII gave the painting to the widowed duchess. At around the same time, Marie-Caroline requested that the duke's heart be removed to the Château de Rosny, where a chapel would be built in his memory, and where his heart (like that of Henri IV in Coupin's painting), would be enshrined.[66] Rosny had not only been a present from the duke to his young wife, but it had, significantly, once been both the home of Sully and a visiting place of Henri IV. Indeed, the name Rosny was also used as a pseudonym for Sully in Collé's *La Partie de Chasse*.[67] Once again, the fusion of historical imagination and reality is clear. In moving both the painting and the duke's heart to Rosny, Marie-Caroline was stage-managing a dramatic role that was full of theatrical symbolism for both herself and the monarchy.

We should also note that Coupin's decision to promote the relationship between Sully and his grandson, which made an unequivocal historical leap of one generation, suggested that an interim era had been discarded from the picture. For the Restoration, then, this portrait legitimised a selective perception of history, one that could suggest the obliteration of the memories of both the Revolution and the Empire, as well as other unsavoury events of monarchical history. Bearing in mind the extent of Napoleon's appropriation of Henri IV (as Vendôme), steering the public toward such a perception of the past was paramount for the Bourbons' survival.

In the light of the urgency with which the Bourbons were promoting their association with Henri IV, the choice of 'Vendôme' as a pseudonym for Henri IV in any *pièce de circonstance* confirmed the Bourbons' willingness to tackle what had become one of Napoleon's principal historical icons. The Duc de Vendôme was a good choice for any *pièce de circonstance* that not only sought to allegorise Louis XVIII, but also emphasised youth and energy. *Les Pages du duc de Vendôme* is a good case in point. Although a title such as *'Les Pages d'Henri IV'* would have worked nicely for the Opéra's ballet, in presenting Henri IV as Vendôme, the Bourbons also proposed a *duke* rather than a king, thus enabling an association with the memory of their recently lost *Duc* de Berry. By extension of this association, they could also connect the *Duc* de Vendôme to the *Duc* de Bordeaux

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[66] Wright, *Painting and History*, p. 75.

[67] 'Rise up, but rise up Rosny! They will think I have pardoned you' ['Relevez-vous, mais relevez-vous donc Rosny! Ils vont croire que je vous pardonne'], Collé, *La Partie de chasse*, illustration facing p. 39.

who, as the youngest heir to the Bourbon throne, promised the glories of a reign that would be comparable to that of Vendôme after he had been crowned Henri IV. The 'pageboys of the Duc de Vendôme' was a particularly appropriate title for an 1820 work, considering Louis's expansion of the number of pageboys in his court that year. Evidently, in celebration of the birth of the Duc de Bordeaux, the promotion of *jeunesse* in a balletic production was an ideal symbolic announcement of the real-life progenitor.

If the Duc de Berry's assassination was to be sold as martyrdom on a scale that rivalled that of Louis XVI (and even that of Jesus Christ), this possibility was aided by the fact that the miracle of genetic lineage implied a paternalistic religious connection. As the head of the Bourbons, 'father of the French people' and figurehead of the Catholic Church in France, Louis XVIII represented the paterfamilias. Through his display of mourning for his nephew, and in his celebration of the birth of the Duc de Bordeaux, the obliteration of the Bourbon dynasty had once again been successfully avoided. As 'father' and protector of the bereaved Duchesse de Berry, Louis was promoted through political and religious associations as a benevolent patriarch.

Marimon, Muret and Mme de Saint-Ange

Such observations are only part of the truth behind the allegorical references in *Les Pages du duc de Vendôme*. In addition to the allegorical history behind the Duc de Vendôme, the secondary characters also provided important political symbolism. In particular, the characters of Marimon and Muret exemplified the conflicting allegorical interests of the Empire and the Restoration because they clearly portrayed two high-profile military figures that had served both Empire and Restoration, and thus called into question the loyalty of the Bourbons' present entourage.

In the Gersin and Dieulafoi vaudeville of 1807, the character Marimon clearly represented Napoleon's Maréchal Marmont (of the satirical bottom-sniffing caricature) who, as we know, had been a pivotal military man of the Empire. Thus we return to the opening illustration of Marmont, Duc de Raguse. For the Napoleonic audience, Marimon was the 'État-Major du Duc', an absurdly brave, subordinate, and self-deprecating man. His

character became comically over-philanthropic when he almost came to blows with Vendôme in his continual refusal of honours. His claims to have worked for Vendôme (Napoleon) for fifteen years provide a flattering exaggeration of the duration of Napoleon's wars:[68]

> How could I wish for more? For fifteen years, I have had the honour of being your friend, your companion at arms. I bash my boots with you, and live a life of war [...]. In Germany, I lost my arm for you, an eye in Italy, my wife in Spain, what the devil could I gain to top that?[69]

Reintroduced during the Restoration in the 1820 ballet, Marimon provided an equally useful foil for Maréchal Marmont, although in this version, Marimon's contributions were less dramatically and politically significant. Here, Marimon was not the virile, heroic army senior that he was in the vaudeville; on the contrary he was portrayed as a *vieux colonel*, and the effusive adulation of his vaudeville characterisation was toned down. What then, were the implications of this Marimon-Marmont connection for the Restoration audience?

As the nose-browning caricature suggests, the infamy Marmont had earned at the fall of the Empire had followed him into the Restoration. Towards the next change of regime, members of the public, including Alexandre Dumas, were prepared for a comparable display of disloyalty: 'Marmont, he is the man who, on delivering Paris, precipitated the fall of the Empire, the traitor who rallied to the lily and who, zealously, has so recently agreed to fire on those who defended the ideals of his youth. This cultivated, intelligent but tragically weak man, will ruin his life until the end'.[70] As Marmont's second surprising demonstration

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[68] The suggested reference to Maréchal Marmont's military victories is bolstered by the name of Marimon's son (the page *Victor* Marimon). For the 1807 *vaudeville* it also implies that military blood, like royal blood, runs dynastically from generation to generation. 'Victor' may have referred to one of the key military players from Napoleon's *Garde Impériale*. The name would still have worked in the Bourbons' favour in the ballet version of *Les Pages* because the French *Garde Royale* established in 1815 (of which Louis XVIII was Colonel-Général), was commanded by four marshals in turn: Macdonald, Oudinot, Victor and Marmont. Each of these men had also served under Napoleon. See Mansel, *Louis XVIII*, p. 262.

[69] 'Que me manque-t-il? Depuis quinze ans j'ai l'honneur d'être votre ami, votre compagnon d'armes. Je choque la botte avec vous et vive la guerre [...]. En Allemagne, j'ai perdu un bras pour vous, un oeil en Italie, ma femme en Espagne, que diable puis-je gagner de plus?' Gersin, *Les Pages du duc de Vendôme*, scene 2.

[70] 'Marmont il est l'homme qui en livrant Paris, a précipité la chute de l'Empire, le traître rallié aux lys et qui, de surcroît, vient d'accepter de tirer sur ceux qui défendent l'idéal de sa jeunesse. Cet homme cultivé intelligent mais tragiquement faible, gâchera sa vie jusqu'au bout.'] Alexandre

of political unpredictability of 1830 occurred when the ballet *Les Pages* was still being performed, we can assume that his part in the work's allegory was reaffirmed. Indeed, the Restoration public's rejection of Marmont (alias the Duc de Raguse) was behind the invention of the word 'ragusade' meaning 'treason'.[71] After the July Revolution, in addition to the caricature, Marmont became the subject of the popular satirical song *Vile Raguse* (see Ex. 7).

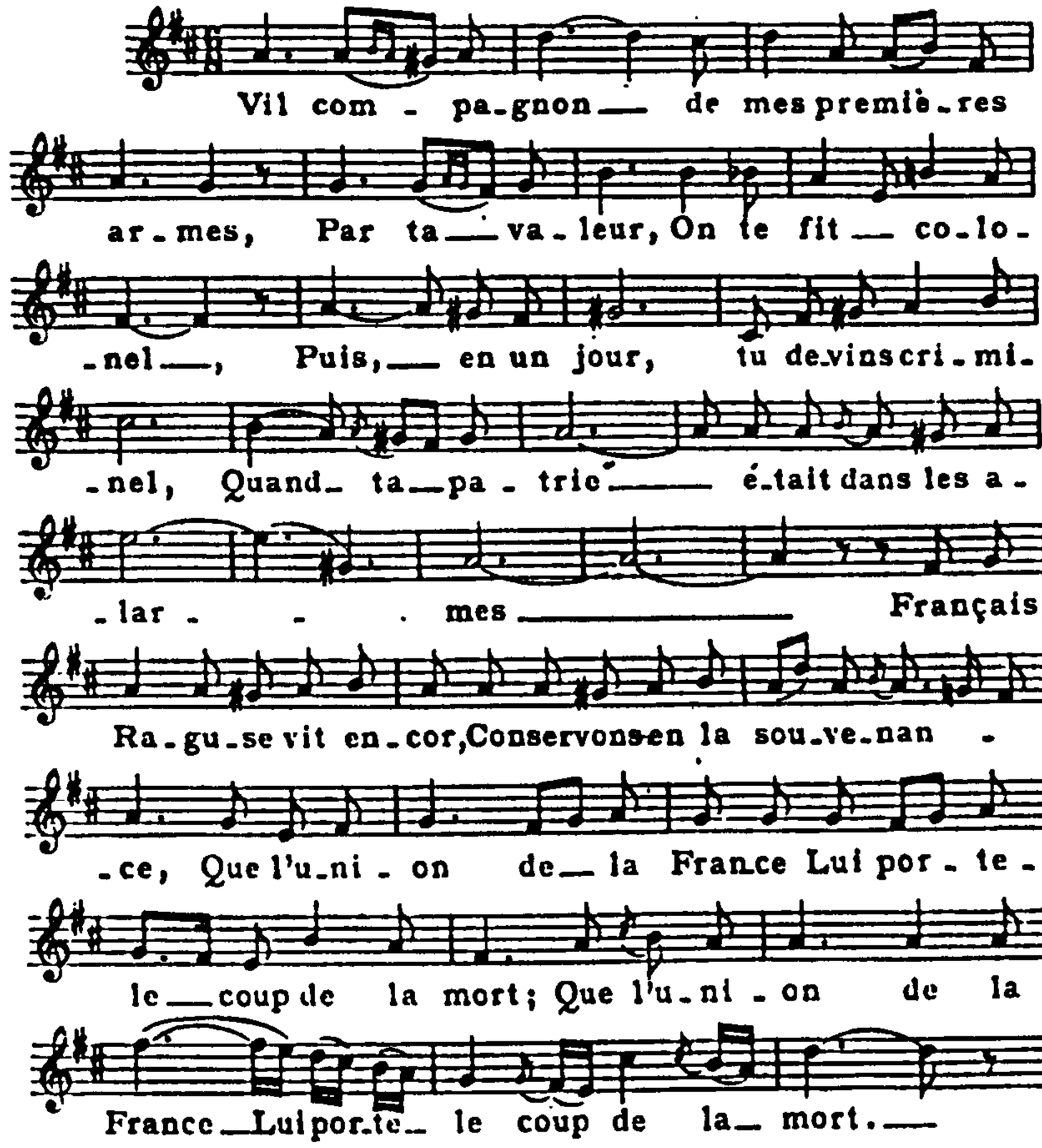
Vil compagnon	Vile companion
de mes premières armes	of my earliest weaponry
Par ta valeur,	For your valour,
On te fit colonel,	they made you colonel,
Puis, en un jour,	Then, in one day,
tu devins criminel	you became a criminal,
Quand ta patrie	When your country
était dans les alarmes.	was in a state of alarm.
Refrain:	*Chorus:*
Français, Raguse vit encor [*sic*]	Frenchman, Raguse is still alive
Conservons-en la souvenance,	Let's bear in mind
Que l'union de la France	That the union of France
Lui porte le coup de la mort.[72]	Carries for him the blow of death.

Dumas, *Journal d'Alexandre Dumas* cited in Barbier and Vernillat, *Histoire de France par les chansons*, vol. 6, p. 115-6 [without specific reference].

[71] Boigne, *Mémoires*, vol. 1, p. 348.

[72] Barbier and Vernillat, *Histoire de France par les chansons*, vol. 6, p. 115-6.

Ex. 7: Vile Raguse



Matching the allegorical connections between Marimon and Maréchal Marmont, in both the 1807 vaudeville and the 1820 ballet, the character Colonel Muret was almost certainly an allegory for Maréchal Joachim Murat (1767-1815). Since 1800, Murat had been Napoleon's brother-in-law, and in 1808 (the year after the première of *Les Pages*), he was appointed King of Naples under the name Joachim Bonaparte.[73] In reality Murat had been

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[73] Ferdinand IV of Naples and the Two Sicilies had been dethroned in 1806 in favour of Joseph Bonaparte. In 1808, the Neapolitan crown had been passed on to Murat who was in fact to prove himself a popular and progressive social reformer there. Murat eventually ignored Bonaparte's reluctant attempts to establish peace in 1814, in favour of protecting his own interests in Naples. Thus, like Marmont and Ney, he effectively 'blew with the wind'.

disappointed not to be crowned king of Spain (given instead to Napoleon's brother Joseph Bonaparte in 1806), but he obligingly settled for Naples. Appropriately, the character Muret in the 1807 vaudeville had been portrayed as Vendôme's sheepish little 'yes-man'. Thus, the link between Mur*et* in the vaudeville and Mur*at* (Napoleon's advantageously married brother-in-law), was easily identified.

Maréchal Murat's political inconstancy, like Marmont's, might well also have been portrayed in caricature and song. Indeed, like Marmont, who had turned his back on Napoleon in favour of Louis XVIII, Murat had also betrayed the Emperor. The positions held by Murat at the forefront of the changing European map between 1807 and 1815 were known to Opéra audiences of *Les Pages du duc de Vendôme* in 1820.[74] In 1815 Murat had chosen to defend his Italian territory rather than surrender alongside Napoleon's army. In a jarring coincidence for Restoration audiences, when Murat had taken over the throne of Naples as part of Napoleon's European campaign, he removed it (via Joseph Bonaparte) from the hands of Ferdinand IV, the grandfather of the future Duchesse de Berry.[75]

What was the significance of Muret's portrayal within the ballet? Surely, the fact that King Murat of Naples should have inspired the character Muret in the Duchess de Berry's *pièce de circonstance* made a mockery of the work's pro-Bourbon propagandist aspirations. It is difficult to understand the presence of Muret in the ballet that set out to celebrate the Bourbon succession.

A significant ambiguity is also evident in the name 'Mme de Saint-Ange'. In the context of the 1807 vaudeville the choice of 'Mme de Saint-Ange' for the leading lady had probably been deliberate. Although 'Saint-Ange' was a common enough French family name, we can speculate that the playwrights' intentions were to play on the initials M. S. A., the abbreviated form of the deferential title Mme Son Altesse. The name Saint-Ange also implied the virtuous image of 'Mme of the Sainted Angel' (the incarnation of a woman who is beyond reproach). Mme de Saint-Ange in the *vaudeville*, having unlearned the privileges accorded her during the *ancien régime*, represented the newly reformed aristocracy of the Empire. An aloof noblewoman, she made clear her social humility in an air: 'For thirty

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[74] After all, the French public was well versed in the historical facts of Napoleon's downfall, both through first-hand experience and through the recent flood of publications.

[75] Confusingly, the Duchesse de Berry's father (known as Ferdinand IV King of Naples and the Two Sicilies before the Empire) renamed himself Ferdinand I, King of the Two Sicilies (of which Naples once again became the capital) when he returned from exile after the fall of Murat.

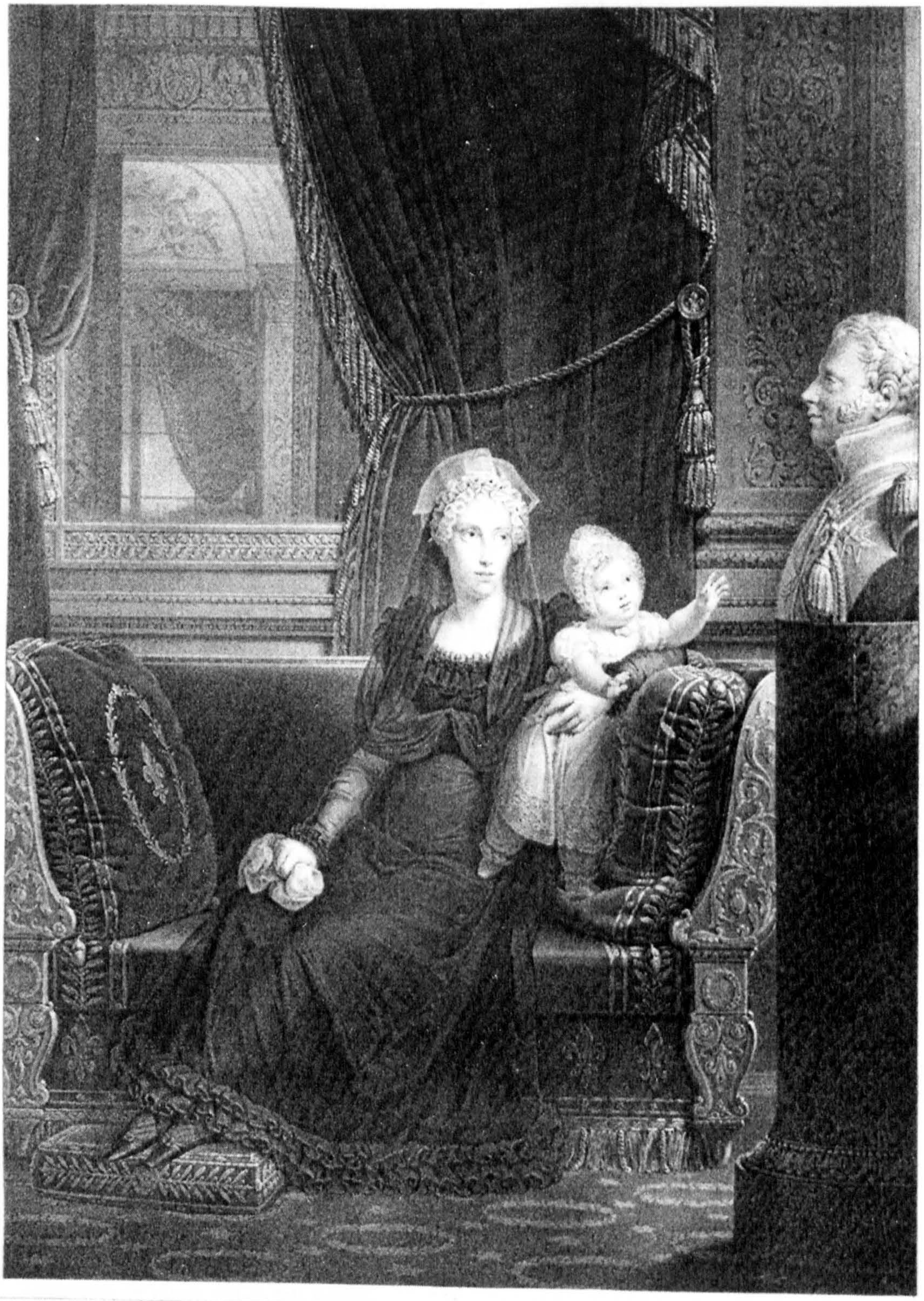

Plate 6: S. A. R. Caroline Ferdinande-Louise Duchesse de Berry.

years I have been respected, but nobody is at my feet', and despite a promising debut (with two musical numbers in scene 1), Mme de Saint-Ange barely reappeared, leaving her character as one of the most underdeveloped in the vaudeville.[76] Although she may have been devised in 1807 as an allegory for Napoleon's sister (noting the sibling-like respect between the characters Mme de Saint-Ange and Vendôme), for Empire audiences the limitations of her character nevertheless signified no obvious political rebuff.[77]

In the 1820 ballet, on the other hand, Mme de Saint-Ange had great potential as an allegory for the Duchesse de Berry. The practice of referring to the Duchesse de Berry through historical allegory was already pervasive (she was commended in *pièces de circonstance* about Jeanne d'Albret, Blanche de Castille and Blanche de Provence, among others), and the tragedy surrounding the assassination of her husband and the respite of the 'miraculous' birth served to bolster such romanticising. In *S. A. R. Caroline Ferdinande-Louise Duchesse de Berry*, one of a series of portraits that shows Marie-Caroline in the costume of Jeanne d'Albret, F. J. Kinson portrayed her with her son on her knee and a white handkerchief in her hand. She is placed in front of a mirror that suggests a window into another world, and overlooking the scene is the bust of her dead duke (see Plate 6).[78]

In the Catholic context of the Restoration particularly, as a result of the Duchesse de Berry's 'miraculous conception' of the Duc de Bordeaux, she was frequently referred to as: 'the wife of the martyr of 13 February' ('l'épouse du martyr du 13 février').[79] This name tapped into religious imagery of Mary weeping for her crucified son, and suited the propagandist iconisation of Marie-Caroline as a dignified grieving mother. The character of Mme of the Sainted Angel in *Les Pages* could be equated easily with such propaganda. The protection the Duchesse de Berry received from Louis XVIII was neatly paralleled in

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[76] 'Depuis trente ans on me respecte, et personne n'est à mes pieds' Gersin, *Les Pages du duc de Vendôme*, scene 1.

[77] The vaudeville had a strong masculine bias. Like Madame de Saint-Ange, the other female character Elise had very few musical appearances, while the male characters shared some twenty-eight airs.

[78] *S. A. R. Caroline Ferdinande-Louise Duchesse de Berry*, by F. J. Kinson (1824), see Rosset, *Collection de Vinck*, vol. 5, no. 10712.

[79] For this tone of writing see L. A. Pitou, *Le Véritable dernier coucher de Monsieur le duc de Berry* (Paris: 1820). Bizarrely, this work attempts to commiserate with the assassination of the duke, while at the same time it recounts in gruelling detail the reactions of eye witnesses and doctors' reports on the final desperate scenes of the duke's life. The second section is called 'Le Trône de Martyr du 13 fév. 1820'.

Vendôme's protective role towards Mme de Saint-Ange which, because she represented Vendôme's (Louis XVIII's) niece, also helped to assert the notion of the Bourbon patriarchy over the French.[80]

The plot of *Les Pages* could by no means have been described as puritanical, however. Mme de Saint-Ange's compromising midnight love-flit with a pageboy, for example, might have been considered a poor political reflection on the Duchesse de Berry, although apparently the censors found no impropriety in that potentially discrediting intrigue. Considering the Restoration's climate of political and social reconciliation, it probably sparked more smiles than frowns.

Although, like the parallels between the fictional characters Marimon and Muret and their real-life counterparts, Mme de Saint-Ange had potential to flatter the Duchesse de Berry, Restoration audiences were exposed to an awkward truth: a journalist from the *Journal des théâtres*, reviewing the first night, indicated that Aumer himself regarded Mme

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[80] Many propagandist allegories of the Restoration intentionally misrepresented the actual relationships between members of the Royal family; it was an age-old practice. As the 'daughter' (by marriage) of Charles d'Artois the Duchesse de Berry implicitly shared the Bourbon consanguinity. As her uncle by marriage, Louis XVIII had welcomed the Italian-born duchess into his own family. After the death of his nephew, he had taken legal control of the education and care of her children. A decree reproduced in the *Bulletin des Lois* enforced this arrangement: 'We declare that we reserve and attribute to ourselves, and to our crown, if necessary, all the rights of paternal power on the person of our well-beloved grand-niece Mademoiselle, daughter of our late well-beloved nephew Charles-Ferdinand d'Artois, Duc de Berry [...] as on the person of the child with which our well-beloved niece Caroline-Ferdinande des Deux-Siciles, Duchesse de Berry, is pregnant.' ['Nous déclarons réserver et attribuer, au besoin, à nous et à notre couronne, tous les droits de la puissance paternelle sur la personne de notre bien-aimée petite-nièce Mademoiselle, fille de feu notre bien aimé neveu Charles-Ferdinand d'Artois, duc de Berry [...] comme aussi sur la personne de l'enfant dont notre bien-aimée nièce Caroline-Ferdinande des Deux-Siciles, duchesse de Berry, est enceinte'], Archives Nationales (shelfmark: IC^{17}, bulletin 366, no. 8678, p. 609-611).

Beyond the care of her progeny, the provider of the home in which she lived, and the loyalty of a close relative, Louis represented the Duchesse de Berry's military shield. Such an image reflected well on the public's perception of Louis XVIII as protector of the new heir to the throne. Thus in works at the Opéra, such as *Les Pages du duc de Vendôme*, the uncle-niece, father-daughter relationships fortified the monarchy's self image. The fact that Mme de St-Ange was Vendôme's niece in *Les Pages du duc de Vendôme* (related, but once removed) reflected directly the relationship between Marie-Caroline de Berry and Louis XVIII, and it promoted the Duc de Vendôme as the alter ego of Louis XVIII, and of the Duc d'Angoulême as a father/brother figure returning from military victory to care for his dependent.

de Saint-Ange to be a pseudonym for 'Mme de Muret'.[81] If her character had been intended initially to allegorise Napoleon's sister (later the wife of Joachim Murat), then the allegorical intentions behind the ballet were deeply enmeshed with those of the vaudeville, and the Duchesse de Berry was allegorised by the very woman who had, with Murat, ousted her family from Naples only a few years earlier.

It was not only the French over whom both the Bourbons and Napoleon wanted to assert their power. Indeed the geographical setting of both versions of *Les Pages du duc de Vendôme* was fundamentally knitted into the antagonism that existed between Napoleon's memory and the new Bourbon regime. While the strong Spanish element was related originally to Napoleon's military successes in Spain, the region of Castille, and all things Castillian, were underplayed in the unfolding drama in both the vaudeville and the ballet. This location held its own set of symbolic references that would have resonated in the minds of the public of the Empire in 1807, as well as those of the Restoration.

In their vaudeville text of 1807, Gersin and Dieulafoi included several jokes about Napoleon's military forays in Spain. During the presentation ceremony in scene 2, for instance, the Duc de Vendôme awarded the government of Castille to a military man named 'Franclieu' ('French place'). His accompanying warning was dryly humorous: 'and make sure you do it in such a way that the Castillians don't feel they have a foreigner in command'.[82] Vendôme's advice to Franclieu was rendered strangely pre-emptive when, soon after the vaudeville's première, Napoleon began to lose his hold on his Spanish gains.[83] With this turnaround, the thrust of the vaudeville now potentially reflected the embarrassment of Napoleon's losses, and so its propagandist capability was marred.

The decline of Napoleon's military fortunes in Spain also affected the reception of Gaspare Spontini's *Fernand Cortez, ou La Conquête du Mexique* (28 November 1809). Initially, Spontini's opera had been received with enthusiasm, but as Napoleon's fortunes

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[81] The journalist describes her as 'a high and mighty lady, whom the choreographer names Mme de Muret' ['une haute et puissante dame, que le chorégraphe nomme Mme de Muret'], *Journal des théâtres* (20 October 1820).

[82] 'et faites de sorte que les Castillans ne sentent pas que c'est un étranger qui les commande' Gersin, *Les Pages du duc de Vendôme*, scene 2. Franclieu was also a common family name in France.

[83] In 1808, only a year after the vaudeville first appeared, Napoleon's brother Joseph Bonaparte had handed over Naples to Murat, taking instead the Spanish crown. Joseph became very much the resented foreign ruler in Spain.

changed, the Opéra's message swiftly became anachronistic. Patrick Barbier outlines the ironic reversal of fortunes that followed its première:

> Cortez, the glorious conqueror of Mexico, who succeeded in breaking the fanaticism of the Mexican priests, would symbolize the French emperor, the future conqueror of Iberia who would soon make the Spanish people and their clergy bow before him [...].
>
> No one could have foreseen the turnaround in the situation in Spain during the following weeks. The land of Cervantes became the only country to make a courageous stand against Napoleon, and his military campaign became disasterously bogged down.
>
> Spontini's opera quickly became as subversive vis-à-vis the emperor as it had initially been favorable [...]; from the moment this same emperor saw himself forced to turn back in his conquest, and thus changed from hero and liberator to vanquished military chief, all allusions to Spain became seditious. [...]. The minister of police temporarily banned *Cortez* [and it was given] only twenty performances in eight years before its revival – its revenge even – during the Restoration.[84]

As Napoleon's presence in Spain had done little more than usurp what had been, since the early-eighteenth century, a Bourbon stronghold, it is no surprise that after the Spanish Bourbons reclaimed Castille from Napoleon at the end of the Empire, *Fernand Cortez* was one of the first works to be revived in France under the Restoration; for the Bourbons Castille was a useful metaphor for their return to Spain as well as to France. The anti-Napoleon message was clear and forceful: while Napoleon usurped the territory of kings, the Bourbons restored stolen land to its rightful sovereigns. Thus, the Bourbons could incorporate Spain, *Fernand Cortez* and Spontini (essentially an Empire composer) into their fold with apparent ease.[85]

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[84] Barbier, *Opera in Paris*, p. 95-96. The Spanish influence was also evident in *Blanche de Castille*, one of the works submitted to the Opéra for the baptism of the Duc de Bordeaux. Several Blanches figure in Castillian monarchical history. Of particular relevance is Blanche (of the Aragon branch - 1188-1252), who married Louis VIII, King of France, in 1200. Their son became Louis IX (Saint Louis, 1214-1270), and his line continued into the Capetian branch. Blanche de Castille, therefore, became the popular name for the mother of St Louis, one of the founding kings of a united France. St Louis was, like Blanche de Castille, venerated in *pièces de circonstance* of the 1820s, and the *Jour de St Louis* (the feast day of Louis XVIII), was to be an annual highpoint during the early Bourbon Restoration.

[85] Ferdinand VII of Spain (1784-1833) officially took over from his father Charles IV (1748-1819) in 1808, but was unable to claim his throne until 1814 because of Napoleon's occupation of the Spanish territory. Connections between Spain and France were strong throughout the Restoration.

In 1823, the Bourbons were once again able to emphasise their own hold over Spain when the Congress of Verona empowered Louis XVIII to take military action against the Cortes (the liberal assembly that had ousted the absolutist Ferdinand VII). Led by the Duc d'Angoulême, French forces wrought a successful campaign against the Cortes, who had been forced to withdraw to Cadiz. In celebration of the campaign's success, Louis ordered the building of the Trocadero in Paris, an imitation of the building in the bay of Cadiz, and a parallel monument to Napoleon's Arc de Triomphe (the Bourbons left this unfinished until the July Monarchy). The celebrations included, as we have seen, the production of the collaborative *drame-lyrique* in three acts *Vendôme en Espagne* at the Opéra in December 1823. The production of *Vendôme en Espagne* underlined once again the significance of iconography that referred to Henri IV as 'the Duc de Vendôme'. Certainly, Angoulême's ancestral links to the heroic Duc de Vendôme implied a genetic predisposition towards military success. With performances of *Vendôme en Espagne* and *Les Pages du duc de Vendôme* coinciding at the Opéra, the valour and glory of the Bourbon sovereignty over Spain was doubly underlined.

The vaudeville's debt to La Fontaine's story *Le Muletier*, and the subsequent modification of the title to incorporate Vendôme, was probably a conscious affirmation of the connection between Vendôme's military prowess and Napoleon's *compagnie muletière*. The name *compagnie muletière* (one of Napoleon's military troops fighting in Spain) derives from the fact that the Emperor's soldiers were compelled to negotiate the difficult Spanish terrain on mule-back.[86] The connection between Napoleon's *compagnie muletière*, and Angoulême's 1823 campaign on behalf of Louis XVIII, prompted an amusing English

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During Ferdinand VII's reign, a civil war was waged by Cortes guerillas, and Ferdinand was captured. It was to save him that Angoulême's military campaign was launched in 1823. Ferdinand's fourth wife (Marie-Christine of Naples) was the Duchesse de Berry's sister. She reigned as Queen of Spain, and then acted as regent for her daughter after Ferdinand's death in 1833.

[86] Napoleon's Spanish campaign was active from 1808-1812, although preparations for it were afoot in preceding years. La Fontaine's *Muletier*, which had provided the basis for *Les Pages*, was reincarnated at the Opéra-Comique from 12 May 1823 in a work by Hérold and Paul de Kock. In this *Le Muletier* the Vendôme character reappears as Henrique (conjuring up 'Henri Qu[atre]').

The *muletier* figure was used in opera as late as 1854, when a work named *Le Muletier de Tolède*, an *opéra-comique* in three acts by composer Ch. A. Adam, and librettists Dennery and Claireville, was produced at the Théâtre Lyrique on 16 December. A version for voice and piano was published in Paris by Colombier (n. d.), and is available in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Musique (shelfmark: Vm5 647). Here the Spanish folk-music idiom was exploited to the full, and the principal characters became Elvire and Manoël.

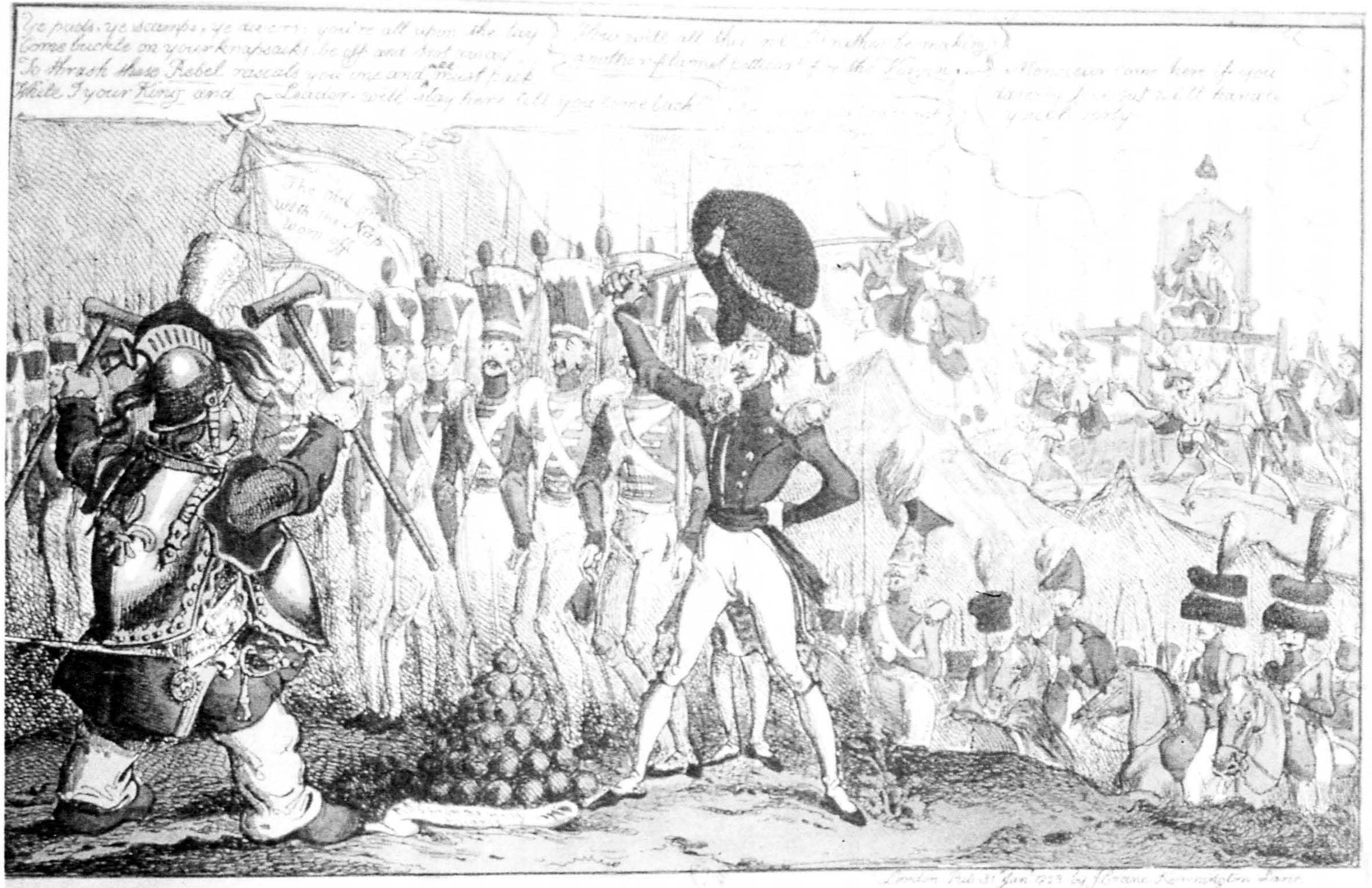

Plate 7: Going to War, or the French Hog in Armour and the Spanish Ass in the Pound.

caricature which showed Louis mounted on a mule, symbolically dressed in the style of Henri IV; *Going to War, or the French Hog in Armour and the Spanish Ass in the Pound* (see Plate 7).[87] The cultural distance between the iconographical utterances of the high art forms and those of satire was evidently very small.

The fact that the Napoleonic vaudeville *Les Pages du duc de Vendôme* was resurrected as a Bourbon *pièce de circonstance* presents a fascinating irony. It provokes far-reaching questions about the ambiguity of propagandist allegories, and about the extent to which members of the early nineteenth-century opera-going public were aware of, or cared about, political machinations within the repertoire of the Općra itself. For the Restoration public, the ballet *Les Pages* embodied the instability of the Bourbons' propaganda arsenal, because it exposed French audiences to a confusing set of political allegories. The lack of censorial control over the ballet's allegorical material (particularly its characters' names) is astonishing, especially in the aftermath of the assassination of the Duc de Berry.

In summary, although ironically the extreme topicality of allegorical representation in most *pièces de circonstance* made them unsustainable in the long-term repertoire, the extensive performances of *Les Pages* during the 1820s and early 1830s indicated that the Opéra had created a success. This success was due partly to the obscuring of the political allegories, and partly to the sheer attraction of the *divertissements*. Despite the fabric of political impropriety within the text, overt political statements had been ameliorated by the removal of text. The widespread appreciation of the politically neutral *divertissements* at the beginning and end of *Les Pages* implied a desire for contemporary French audiences to focus away from the military content of the plot. The peasant content in the *divertissements* also bore witness to a theatrical idealisation of 'le peuple', which suggested a wish to promote a representation of a unified France. Adding to the ballet's success was the work's suitability to the spatial limits of the Salle Favart, and the breach in repertoire afforded it by the disappearance of other larger works during the difficult year 1820-21 in the Opéra's temporary home.

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[87] The description reads: 'Louis XVIII, the French sausage, dressed up in a Henri IV-style plate of armour and armed with crutches, exhorts the troops commanded by the Duc d'Angoulême, while Ferdinand VII, the Spanish ass, is the prisoner of members of the Cortes who form a circle around his throne' ['Louis XVIII, la saucisse française, revêtu d'une cuirasse à la Henri IV et armé de béquilles, exhorte les troupes commandées par le duc d'Angoulême, tandis que Ferdinand VII, l'âne espagnol, est prisonnier des membres des Cortès qui font une ronde autour de son trône.'], Rosset, *Collection de Vinck*, vol. 5, no. 10081. The print, by J. Crane, is dated 31 January 1823.

If the Bourbons had focussed on the problematic iconography of the Colonne Vendôme in their quest for supremacy, they had done so in an attempt to sweep Napoleon from the memory of the Restoration public. As a work that sought to override Napoleon's iconographical currency, the Opéra's *Les Pages du duc de Vendôme* is a significant *pièce de circonstance*, whose political content out-weighs its musical worth. Unlike many other such works, which offered poor propaganda thinly disguised as poor drama, this was good drama thinly disguised as poor propaganda.

Chapter Three

Caricatures of Vanity: Rossini's *La Cenerentola*, the Bourbons, and the Duchesse de Berry's *Quadrille Marie Stuart.*

Introduction

> It was a curious thing to see this series of picturesque costumes walking around amidst the *gravitas* of Paris, to see these chivalric costumes mixed with the bourgeois physiognomy of the big city, to see this journey to the frivolous centuries in the middle of a serious one.[1]

Eyewitness accounts such as this one of the Duchesse de Berry's *Quadrille Marie Stuart* of March 1829, described the scene on the morning after an extravagant costume ball, when the duchess left the Tuileries Palace dressed as Marie Stuart. Accompanied by her 'husband' François II and a crowd of courtiers, she led her historical pageant around the streets of Paris.[2]

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[1] 'C'eût été une chose curieuse à voir que cette série de costumes pittoresques se promenant au milieu de la gravité de Paris, que ces habits chevaleresques mêlés à la physionomie bourgeoise de la grande cité, que ce voyage des siècles frivoles au milieu d'un siècle sérieux.' *Revue de Paris* (1829), vol. 1, p. 250, in the second of two articles entitled: 'Des Bals costumés de S. A. R. Madame Duchesse de Berri comparés aux diverses mascarades qui ont eu lieu en cour depuis le 14e siècle'.

[2] The ball itself took place on the evening of 2 March 1829, and the street parade took place on the morning of 3 March. The '*Quadrille*' of dances was performed at both.

In addition to the two lengthy articles in the *Revue de Paris*, other journals that published details about the *Quadrille Marie Stuart* included: *Echo fidèle* also known as *Moniteur des théâtres* (2, 4 and 5 March 1829); *Journal des dames et des modes* (15 March 1829); *Petit courrier des*

The costumes, which imitated those of Renaissance court society, had been produced at great expense for the previous evening's ball, and were copies of those known to dressmakers through original sixteenth-century sources.[3] The characters at both the pageant and the ball were represented by amateur 'actors', extracted from the modern Bourbon court. One of Lami's lithographs for the event *L'Arrivée du cortège* depicts the guests climbing up a vast staircase in the Tuileries (see Plate 8).[4] Among the guests were prominent figures such as the Duc de Richelieu, members of the Damas family, the Comtesse de Noailles, the Vicomtesse de la Ferronnays and the Comtesse de Tocqueville. The music, now lost, possibly included a manuscript retained in the Bibliothèque Nationale entitled *Quadrille de Madame la Duchesse*

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dames (5 and 10 March 1829); 'La Prisonnière de Blaye. Fragmens inedits d'un ouvrage de M. Théodore Anne', *Bagatelle*, no. 10 (1832), p. 73-75. See also Théodore Anne's *La Prisonnière de Blaye* (Paris: 1832), p. 277-278. Among the many private accounts were those of: Boigne, *Mémoires*, vol. 2, p. 196-8; Boniface Castellane, *Journal ... 1758-1837*, 5 vols (Paris: 1895-97), vol. 2, p. 282; Alfred-Auguste Cuvillier-Fleury, *Journal intime de Cuvillier-Fleury*, 2 vols (Paris: Plon-Nourrit, 1900-1903), vol. 1, p. 73-74; Marie-Louise Joséphine Duchesse de Gontaut-Biron, *Mémoires de Madame la Duchesse de Gontaut gouvernante des enfants de France pendant la Restoration* (Paris: Plon, 1891), p. 288-292. Several secondary sources provide useful descriptions. See for example Françoise Waquet, *Les fêtes royales*, p. 65-7, and Beth Segal Wright, 'The Auld Alliance in Nineteenth-Century French Painting: The Changing Concept of Mary Stuart, 1814-1833', *Arts Magazine* (March 1984), vol. 58, no. 7, p. 97-107.

[3] Waquet discusses the costs incurred by the *Quadrille Marie Stuart* in *Les Fêtes royales*, p. 65. The interior decorations at the Tuileries, provided by the Menus Plaisirs, were those that had been used in the 'chapelle ardente' for the consecration of Louis XVIII, as well as those used for other *fêtes ordinaires* du roi, Archives Nationales (shelfmark: AJ^{19} 806, p. 57-60, p. 64-68 and p. 71-72). The costumes were based on designs by Evariste, Fragonard, Isabey, Lafitte, and Lecomte, most of whom also produced the lithographs (see Rosset, *Collection de Vinck*, vol. 5, p. 392). As was the case for other costume balls before the *Quadrille Marie Stuart*, the Cabinet des Estampes in the Bibliothèque Royale was teeming with aristocrats researching the historical costumes of the Valois court, see Paul Andre Lemoisne, *Eugène Lami (1800-1890)* (Paris: Manzi, Joyant et Cie, 1912), p. 34. See also Waquet, *Les Fêtes royales*, p. 65-66.

[4] Lami, *L'Arrivée du cortège* (Rosset, *Collection de Vinck*, vol. 5, no. 10236). Marie-Caroline commissioned a set of 28 coloured lithographs of the costumes from Eugène Lami. These were distributed among the participants, and spare copies were sold commercially in 1830 by Fonrouge. Contributors to the set were Garneray, Lecomte (both of whom also exhibited paintings on the subject of Mary Stuart), and Fragonard, Isabey, and Lafitte (all of whom contributed extensively to the vogue of historical-painting and illustration). For details and reproductions of some of the lithographs see Waquet, *Les Fêtes royales*, fig. 17-19, and Wright, 'The Auld Alliance', p. 97. The entire set is described in Rosset, *Collection de Vinck*, no. 10214-10239. Albert gives a useful outline of several other costume balls of the late 1820s in *L'Art de danser à la ville et à la cour, ou Nouvelle méthode des vrais principes de la danse française et étrangère. Manuel à l'usage des maîtres à danser, des mères de famille et maîtresses de pension* (Paris: Collinet, 1834), p. 43-48.

Plate 8: L'Arrivée du cortège.

de Berry (see Appendix 4).[5] An extensive description of the ball itself appeared in the *Revue de Paris*:

> MADAME [the Duchesse de Berry] arrived at the foot of the amphitheatre, sat on the throne that had been prepared [...] clothed in a blue velvet dress, under which she wore a farthingale, and which was ornamented with rivers of diamonds, whose price may have risen to more than three million, MADAME brought to mind in the most telling way the portraits of the queen of Scotland that have been left for us by Frédérico Zuccheri, Vanderwerf and Georgius Vertue.[6]

This imitation of the Renaissance court, displayed as it was in front of ordinary Parisians, placed under their eyes a resurrection of the Scottish queen that they had recently begun to commemorate through the resurgence of historical-mindedness.

Marie Stuart had become France's darling when in 1558 she had arrived in France to marry François, Dauphin de France.[7] The couple had enjoyed some months of youthful happiness before the death of François's father in 1559, after an accident at a tournament. The Dauphin was to reign as François II until only one year later, when he died after a protracted illness. Nearly three centuries later at the *Quadrille Marie Stuart*, the French public was encouraged to associate Marie-Caroline de Berry with Mary Stuart because of the similarities between the women's lives as young newcomers to the Parisian court, and

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[5] *Quadrille de Mme la Duchesse de Berry executé par elle le 13 janvier 1829* (Bibliothèque Nationale, Musique (shelfmark: D 17487)). The music consists of six sketched dance movements. As the accompaniment is only loosely filled out (only a sparse bass line is given), the manuscript is probably either that of a sketch for a non-extant orchestrated version, or a manuscript for which all parts were intended to be improvised. However, this manuscript may equally be related to a dance that was referred to in several sources as the '*quadrille*' of the Duchesse de Berry. The Duchesse de Berry had, after all, her own team of dance composers, namely Ferdinando Paër, Jean Baptiste Joseph Tolbecque and Adrien Baudouin, who between them wrote numerous dances in her honour.

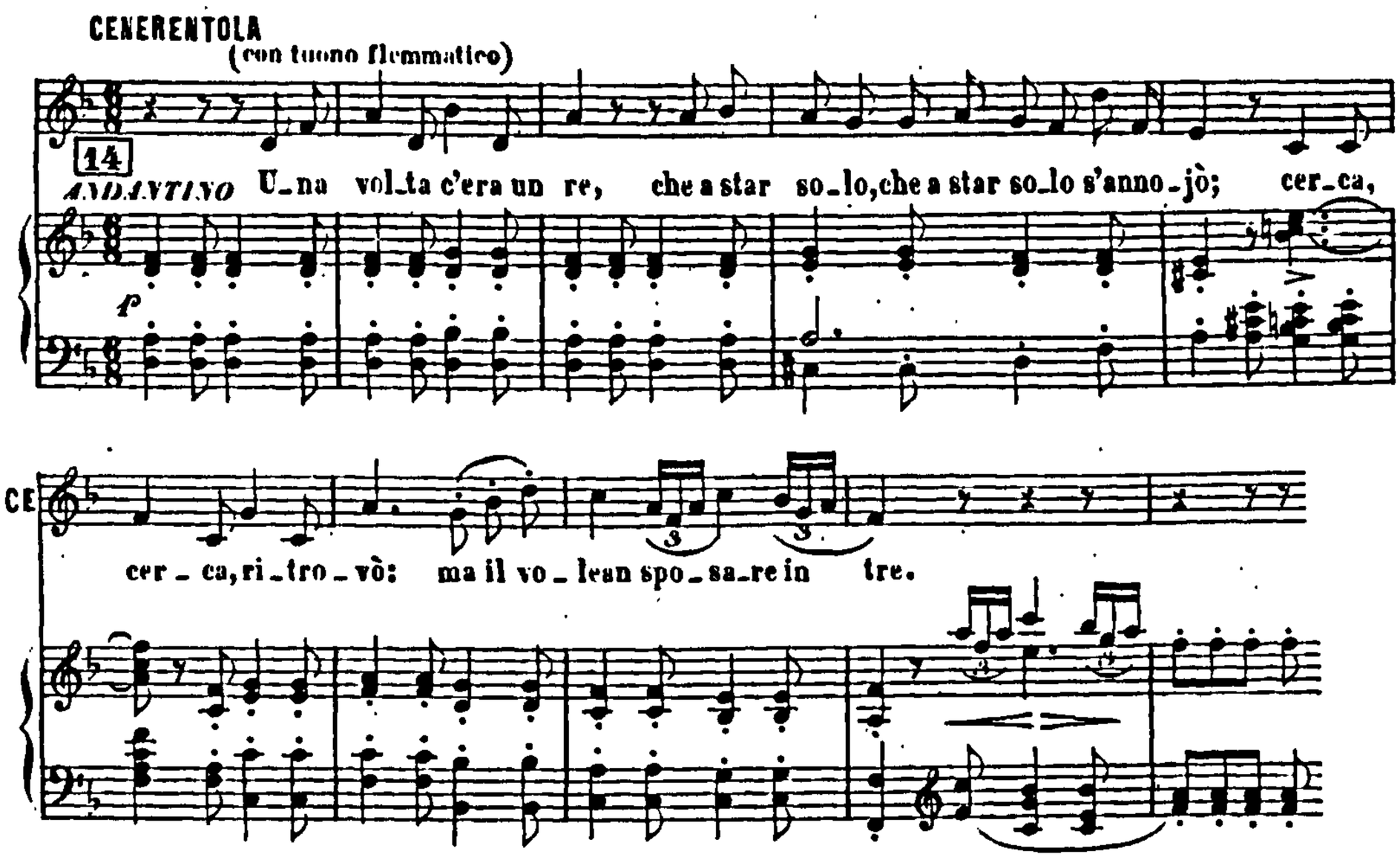
[6] 'MADAME [la Duchesse de Berry], arrivée au pied de l'amphithéâtre, s'assied sur un trône qui lui avait été préparé [...] habillée d'une robe de velours bleu, sous laquelle elle portait un vertugadin, et qu'ornaient des rivières de diamans, dont le prix pouvait s'élever à plus de trois millions, MADAME rappelait de la manière la plus frappante les portraits de la reine d'Ecosse que nous ont laissés Fédérico Zucchari, Vanderwerf et Georgius Vertue.' *Revue de Paris* (1829), vol. 1 p. 248. The artists mentioned were all European painters of the sixteenth century.

[7] The Restoration was exposed to a great deal of information about Marie Stuart. See, for example, Abbé de Brantôme (André de Bourdeille), 'Discours troisième. Marie Stuart, Reyne d'Ecosse, jadis Reyne I de Nostre France,' *Dames illustres françaises et étrangères* in his *Œuvres complètes*, 8 vols (Paris: Foucault, 1822-3), vol. 5, p. 82-125.

because of the untimely deaths of their husbands.[8] The spectators of 1829 therefore saw their own 'princess' assuming the roles of both queen and actress, and flaunting her wealth within a climate of increasing political tension. As a 'queen', and as mother of the Duc de Bordeaux, she was reasserting her image as France's 'queen mother', and as an actress, she was fashioning herself into a representation of the past, assuring that her present status was 'mis en place' for the history books.

In events that mirrored the ostentatious parade of the Duchesse de Berry, night after night during the 1820s, sumptuously dressed and surrounded by a similarly adoring audience of courtiers, Rossini's Cinderella seated herself on the throne next to Prince Ramiro at centre stage in the Théâtre Italien in Paris. Yet, despite playing to an audience that was predominantly sympathetic to the Bourbons, Rossini's Cenerentola repeated an epithet that indicated that for her the king was isolated in the past: 'Una volta c'era un re, che a star solo s'annojò' ('Once upon a time there was a king who was tired of being alone'). Not only was Cenerentola pointing out the king's isolation from society, but she was also insinuating that the king was part of a fairytale world, far removed from reality (see Ex. 8).

Ex. 8: Cenerentola - Cavatina



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[8] Marie Stuart's French husband, like that of Marie-Caroline, was also the victim of assassination

The cavatina, with its minor key signature, its melancholic heartbeat and its topos of grief, expressed in falling 6ths, underlined the irony of Cenerentola's sentiment; she equated herself with the king's isolation as well as his royalty and saw herself, a mere servant, as fit to be his queen. Cenerentola's nostalgic cry for the Old World became the predominant motif of Rossini's opera, and it reflected the prevailing mindset of the French Restoration. Like the Duchesse de Berry in her *Quadrille*, Cenerentola's cavatina bore witness to the fact that the old-style monarchy was now merely part of the collective historical consciousness.

This chapter will outline the reception of *La Cenerentola* in the context of the Bourbon Restoration, and compare the temperaments of Rossini's heroine with those of Marie-Caroline de Berry, as both she and Cenerentola strove to realise their fantasies of self-aggrandisement in the ballroom. The portraits of both women and the society to which they belonged will be elucidated by the opinions of their contemporaries, Stendhal, Théophile Gautier, the Comtesse Adelaïde de Boigne and the Comte d'Apponyi, as well as numerous journalists. In painting a broad canvas of the Restoration ballroom, this chapter will demonstrate that Marie-Caroline's *Quadrille Marie Stuart* created a bridge between the Bourbon world and that of the stage. In this way it inadvertently emphasised the Bourbon monarchy's increasingly fantastical and anachronistic status, and thus provided fodder for anti-Bourbon agitators, who perceived that dynasty as extraneous to their constitutional needs.

The pertinence of such an investigation is reinforced by the fact that Marie-Caroline shared with the traditional Cinderella a general physical daintiness. Adelaïde de Boigne described her after their first meeting in a way that could easily have been applied to Cinderella:

> Her size, although small, was agreeable; her arms, her hands, her neck, her shoulders of a dazzling whiteness and of a gracious shape; her complexion was beautiful, and her head was ornamented with an admirable forest of ash-blonde hair. All of this was carried by two of the smallest feet that one could ever see.[9]

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attempts. See Wright, 'The Auld Alliance', for a discussion of the associations made between the two women during the Restoration.

[9] 'Sa taille, quoique petite, était agréable; ses bras, ses mains, son col, ses épaules d'une blancheur éclatante et d'une forme gracieuse; son teint beau et sa tête ornée d'une forêt de cheveux blond cendré admirables. Tout cela était porté par les deux plus petits pieds qu'on pût voir.' Boigne, *Mémoires*, vol. 1, p. 621.

The remarkable diminutive feet of both women provides a crucial symbolic link that was reiterated throughout the Restoration. Cenerentola's feet were, after all, exposed freely on the principal stages during the French Restoration. They had been presented from 1822 at the Théâtre Italien in Rossini's opera, and from 1823 at the Opéra in Ferdinand Sor's ballet *Cendrillon*.[10] Marie-Caroline had, herself, made sure that her own feet were the centre of attention. It was she who, because of the exceptional delicacy of her feet, had raised the hemline of her skirt, thus precipitating the reshaping of ladies' fashion in France.[11] In the ballroom Marie-Caroline's feet were, likewise, a constant source of entertainment. Reminiscent of the way in which the traditional prince confirms Cinderella's identity as the mysterious beauty of his ball by identifying her tiny feet, attendees at one Restoration *bal masqué* were to amuse themselves by searching among the costumed dancers for the most delicate feet in order to identify Marie-Caroline.[12] Remarkably too, just as the traditional Cinderella leaves her slipper at the ball for the prince to find, members of the French aristocracy (such as the Vicomte de Reiset) were known to have coveted pairs of Marie-Caroline's slippers as mementoes.[13]

A contemporary witness to the similarity between these two 'fairytale princesses' comes in the form of a comment by Marie-Caroline's contemporary biographer the Vicomte de Reiset, who related that the duchess's delicate feet were a significant public curiosity: 'When the duchess took a walk on the terrace of the Tuileries, members of the public stopped

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[10] Ferdinand Sor's ballet *Le Cendrillon* in three acts was choreographed by Albert Decombe. It was premièred at the Opéra on 3 March 1823. Sor's ballet provided a non-political, sentimental foil for Rossini's more socially perceptive work, and it proved to be among the period's most successful ballets, receiving 104 performances before 24 November 1830, see Lajarte, *Bibliothèque musicale du Théâtre de l'Opéra*.

[11] Skirt lengths were lifted to above the ankle after 1820, Reiset, *Marie-Caroline*, p. 196. Marie-Caroline also often wore extravagant plumes on her head to create the illusion of greater height.

[12] Apponyi, *Vingt-cinq ans à Paris (1826-1850) Journal du Comte Rodolphe Apponyi* (Paris: Plon [vol. 1 and 2] 1913), vol. 1, p. 229 (11 February 1830).

[13] The duchess was also known to have offered a pair of her slippers to the Comte de Bagneux as a gift, 'Pair of slippers having belonged to the Duchesse de Berry, offered by her to the Comte de Bagneux' ['Paire de pantoufles ayant appartenu à la Duchesse de Berry, offertes par elle au Comte de Bagneux (Collect. Baronne de Lestrange)'] *Madame Duchesse de Berry* [exhibition catalogue] from Musées Départementaux de Loire-Atlantique, Nantes (15 December 1963 to 15 February 1964) (Paris: Presses artistiques, 1963), cat. 50, p. 19. In an anecdote that mirrored the Cinderella story, when Marie-Caroline attempted to ride incognito on a bumpy omnibus, the conductor was forced to steady her. In the confusion, her exposed ankle prompted the conductor to cry out 'Le pied de Madame'; she was discovered. The Parisian omnibuses were referred to as 'Carolines' for some time after this incident, see Reiset, *Marie-Caroline*, p. 196.

to admire the foot of Cinderella'.[14] From such a perspective, an investigation of the reception of Rossini's *La Cenerentola* during the Parisian Restoration promises an interesting yield.

La Cenerentola in Paris

The case for comparing the cultural resonance of Rossini's *La Cenerentola* in Paris with that of the Duchesse de Berry is strengthened by a further curious series of coincidences. Five years prior to its arrival in Paris, *La Cenerentola* had been premièred at the Teatro Valle in Rome on 25 January 1817. Intended for December 1816, but delayed for a month, its Roman première nevertheless occurred only half a year after the Duchesse de Berry's 'fairytale' marriage to the heir of the French throne in June 1816.[15] For Marie-Caroline's marriage itself, Rossini had composed his cantata *Le nozze di Teti e di Peleo*, which had been premièred on 24 April 1816 at Naples's Teatro del Fondo just prior to Marie-Caroline's departure for Paris.[16] The timing of this wedding cantata represents a possible connection between Marie-Caroline and Rossini's conception of the music for *La Cenerentola*. The cantata had included an extended aria for the character Cerere (No. 9, 'Aria di Cerere') which was soon to be transferred into Rossini's *Il Barbiere* as 'Cessa di più resistere' for Count Almaviva. It in turn was then to reappear as Cenerentola's final aria 'Non più mesta' (see Ex. 9), the fiery Rondo Finale with which, as we shall see, Rossini's Cenerentola accepted her throne and

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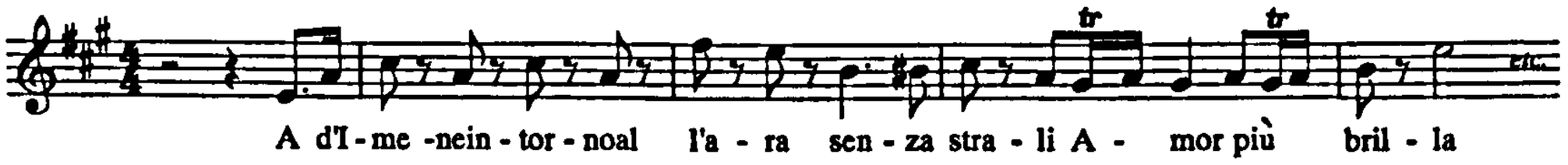
[14] 'Lorsqu'elle se prommenait sur la terrasse des Tuileries, les passants s'arrêtaient pour admirer ce pied de Cendrillon.' Reiset, *Marie-Caroline*, p. 196.

[15] Rossini signed the contract for *La Cenerentola* on his twenty-fourth birthday, and the première was projected for Boxing Day 1816, Osborne, *Rossini*, The Master Musicians Series (London: Dent, 1986; rev. 1993), p. 32.

[16] *Le nozze di Teti e di Peleo* was billed as an *azione coro-drammatica* by Angelo Maria Ricci set to music by Rossini. See Rossini, *Le nozze di Teti e di Peleo, Edizione critica delle opere di Gioachino Rossini*, No. 3, dir. Philip Gossett (Pesaro: Fondazione Rossini, 1993). The first performance was in the Teatro del Fondo in Naples, on 24 April 1816. The performance was staged, as was the tradition with Italian court pastoral cantatas, though, because it lacked in plot, its dramatic interest relied on allegorical displays. The 'Aria di Cerere' was sung by Isabella Colbran. See also Gossett, 'Rossini in Naples: Some Major Works Recovered', *Musical Quarterly* (July 1968), vol. LIV, no. 3, p. 316-25.

rejoiced in her transformation; in short, it was the aria in which she came out of her shell.[17] As we shall see in due course, under Rossini's treatment of this music in *La Cenerentola*, his heroine emerges from the bindings of her sooty chrysalis as a full-blooded seductress.

Ex. 9: Rossini *Le nozze di Teti e di Peleo* – No. 9 Aria Cerere.



The aria's dazzling ostentation and its unrivalled exuberance strike a chord with our perception of the exhibitionism of the Duchesse de Berry in 1829, as she pompously heralded her own arrival as Queen of France. Like Cenerentola's rise to eminence, Marie-Caroline's rise was fanciful, and therefore similarly pregnant with dramatic potential. Rossini's association with the Duchesse de Berry continued after she and Rossini moved independently to Paris. The Comte Apponyi recorded that in 1827 Rossini had written some music for one of the historic balls the duchess hosted during her one of her forays into the French countryside. In the Chateau d'Arque, once used by Henri IV for his amorous relations with Gabrielle d'Estrées, Rossini's music was sung by world class singers:

> I come from the Château d'Arque [...]. Last year, Madame la Duchesse de Berry gave fêtes there; she had a pavillion of extremely bad taste constructed, where dinners took place for which the guests had to dress in costumes of the era of Henri IV. Rossini composed pieces of music for the fêtes on appropriately old-world texts with

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[17] 'Aria di Cerere' was one of the cantata's few original numbers. Its text repeated the words 'E d'Imene intorno al l'ara senza strali Amor più brilla, e raccende la favilla dell'altrui felicità [...]', only deviating from this repetition for an elaborate 'Ah!' in which Cerere uses extraordinary soaring coloratura. The cantata's chorus (No. 5) was also borrowed for *La Cenerentola*'s 'Della Fortuno instabile' (Act 2, leading into the Finale). See Gossett's introduction to Rossini, *Le nozze di Teti e di Peleo, Edizione critica*, dir. Gossett. Almaviva's version, in a different key, used the words 'Ah più lieto, il più felice' Weinstock, *Rossini: A Biography* (London: Oxford University Press, 1968), p. 71. See Rossini, *Le nozze di Teti, e di Peleo, Edizione critica*, ed. Gossett for details of the differences between the two arias; beyond the change of text, these mostly consist of repetitions and embellishments.

flattering allusions to Madame. These cantatas were sung by singers of the Opéra Italien, and it was charming, according to what I was told, charming.[18]

When Rossini's *La Cenerentola* arrived in Paris in June 1822, the city was already familiar with different permutations of the fairytale. In 1810, a surplus of Cinderellas of different genres had filled the Empire's Parisian stages with maids dreaming of becoming princesses. The six Cinderellas of 1810 ranged between the rose-filled *opéra-féerie* of Nicholas Isouard and Charles Guillaume Etienne, the comic Cinderella with a magic cat (*La Petite Cendrillon, ou La Chatte merveilleuse*), and a parody revue of all the Cinderellas (*Les Six Pantoufles, ou le rendez-vous des Cendrillons*).[19] Only Isouard's *opéra-féerie*, which had initiated the Cinderella craze in February 1810, was of an operatic genre; the others included an array of *comédies* and *vaudevilles*.[20] The Restoration's major French production of Cinderella, Ferdinand Sor's ballet *Le Cendrillon*, was premièred at the Opéra in March 1823, less than a year after the Paris première of Rossini's opera. It proved to be among the most successful ballets of the Restoration, receiving some 104 performances before 1830.

The rush of Cinderellas in 1810 had coincided with Napoleon's marriage to Marie-Louise, a coincidence that was later paralleled by the proximity of the Roman première of Rossini's *La Cenerentola* in January 1817 to the marriage of the young Berry couple in June 1816. Thus, the idealistic Cinderella tale, in which a prince compromises on the proper courtly etiquette in choosing his bride, symbolically flattered bourgeois audiences of both regimes by implying social enlightenment on the part of the newly-weds of both 1810 and 1816. By demonstrating tolerance towards the lower classes, the Cinderella story promised that constitutional traditions could be up-ended. Nevertheless, although the story promoted

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[18] 'Je viens du château d'Arque [...] Mme la duchesse de Berry y a donné l'année dernière des fêtes; elle y a fait construire un pavillon de fort mauvais goût, où avaient lieu des dîners dont les convives devaient être en costume du temps de Henri IV. Rossini a composé pour les fêtes des morceaux de musique sur des paroles analogues au temps ancien avec des illusions flatteuses pour Madame. Ces cantates étaient exécutées par des chanteurs de l'Opéra italien et c'était charmant, à ce qu'on m'a dit, charmant.' Apponyi, *Journal*, vol. 1, p. 126 (Dieppe, 15 July 1828).

[19] Isouard's *Cendrillon* was in three acts, with a libretto by Charles-Guillaume Etienne. It was premièred at the Opéra-Comique on 22 February 1810. Etienne had based his plot on Charles Perrault's fairy tale *Cendrillon, ou la Petite pantoufle,*which had been published originally in his collection *Contes de ma mère l'oye* (1697). Isouard's work substituted the lost slipper for a rose, and thus the rose became the symbolic decoration for many of the scenes.

[20] See Michael Fend, 'Cendrillon', *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd edition.

social reform, it did so from the throne of feudal domination. This was a paradox that had suited the propagandist needs of the Empire, and had equal potential during the Restoration.

For the Bourbon court of the Restoration, however, any philanthropic message to be found in Rossini's *La Cenerentola* was painful to acknowledge. Its Paris première in 1822 took place not long after Louis XVIII had been forced into signing a charter that promised compromises towards the lower classes.[21] Furthermore, it fell into a climate of renewed Bonapartist sympathy, which had arisen after the death of Napoleon on 5 May the previous year.[22] Thus, *La Cenerentola*'s pointed 'Once upon a time there was a king' and its feast of aristocratic glamour stood gauchely alongside both the gradual liberalisation of society and growing anti-Bourbon sentiment.

What was remarkable about the two case studies in this chapter (Cenerentola and Marie-Caroline de Berry) was, as we shall see, their ability to bounce back from emotional destitution (Cenerentola from domestic imprisonment and the duchess from mourning and from the loss of her status as 'queen in waiting'). However, beyond their qualities as fascinatingly self-directed women, the resilience of these two female icons provided a metaphor for the broader social picture of Paris, a city coping with the exhilaration of release from trauma. The fact that the 'enthronements' of both Marie-Caroline and Cenerentola bore the heavy sceptre of hopeless nostalgia, of a yearning for a lost utopia when 'Once upon a time' the monarchy stood uncontested, reflected the political dilemma of the Parisian public after their experience of the fall of the *ancien régime*. Cenerentola, after all, became a princess only as a result of the social and moral enlightenment of others, by transcending social barriers and by suspending belief in social difference; but her rise also depended on the disappointment of her rivals. Likewise, Marie-Caroline and the new bourgeoisie of the post-Napoleonic Restoration public had re-occupied the palaces left vacant by the previous generation of beheaded aristocrats and disgraced Napoleonic sympathisers. Thriving as *La Cenerentola* did on the tensions between old and new elements in society, it held up an

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[21] The set of royal ordonnances called the Charte Constitutionnelle was set in place on 14 June 1814. The charter created a compromise between the principles of absolute and parliamentary monarchy. Disputes about the ministerial rights expounded in this charter continued throughout the Restoration, and were partly responsible for the 1830 Revolution. See 'Charte Constitutionnelle', *La Grande encyclopédie*.

[22] Among the reactions of French people on hearing the news that Napoleon had died was that of the famous Talma, who refused to perform ever again on the anniversary of his death, see Hemmings, *Theatre and State*, p. 180.

important mirror to the Restoration. In its promotion of Cenerentola as a member of the lower classes, Rossini's opera offered a paradoxical reminder of the injustice of *ancien-régime* ideals and of the Revolutionary demand for social change. The moral residue of these social changes, perplexing as they were, makes an inquiry into the reception of Rossini's opera during the Parisian Restoration all the more enticing.

Rossini's *La Cenerentola* assumed the style of an eighteenth-century *opera buffa*, and its plot mirrored the stock-in-trade *buffo* scenario, laid out by composers such as Cimarosa, in which a likeable servant becomes the fashionable symbol of the oppressed and exploited, an abused figure who rises to the status of princess.[23] Jacopo Ferretti based his libretto for the opera (via Etienne's libretto for Isouard's *opéra-comique*) on Charles Perrault's fairytale *Cendrillon*, but it is likely that both he and Rossini also knew *Agatina, ossia la virtù premiata* by Stefano Pavesi and Felice Romani (Milan, 1814).[24] Just as Pavesi had modernised the Cinderella fairytale for *Agatina*, so Ferretti was to update it by removing its magical elements (the fairy, the pumpkin and the mice), and he replaced the lost slipper (and its commonly confused specification: glass - *verre*, green - *vert*, or suede - *vair*) with a pair of matching bracelets.[25] Furthermore, Rossini's heroine Angelina (known as Cenerentola – meaning

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[23] The tradition of stock characterisation harked back to works such as Domenico Cimarosa's *Il matrimonio segreto* (1792).

[24] Most of the recitatives in the opera were set by Luca Agolini, who probably also wrote the Alidoro's aria 'Vasto teatro è il mondo' (Act 1), the chorus 'Ah questa bella incognita' (Act 2), and Clorinda's aria 'Sventurata! Mi credea comandar seduto in trono' (Act 2), Osborne, *Rossini*, p. 36. Emilia Bonini created the first interpretation of Cenerentola for Paris. Her soprano voice (as opposed to the mezzo-soprano voice of Geltrude Righetti-Giorgi, who created the role at Rome's Teatro Valle) made for a brighter sounding Cenerentola. Righetti-Giorgi (who had also taken the mezzo role of Rosina in *Il barbiere*) objected to the change to soprano in her *Cenni di una donna, già cantante sopra il Maestro Rossini* (Bologna: n. pub., 1823), p. 38-39, cited in Rossini, *La Cenerentola, ossia, La bontà in trionfo* [...], *Edizione critica delle opere di Gioachino Rossini*, No. 20, dir. Philip Gossett (Pesaro: Fondazione Rossini, 1998), p. XXXVIII.

Pietro Cartoni, the impresario of the Teatro Valle, had commissioned an opera for a different libretto, but Roman censors had rejected it. The story behind Ferretti's rushed work on *La Cenerentola* was published in A. Cametti, *Un poeto melodrammatico romano* (Milan: n. pub., 1898). Because of the delay over the choice of libretto, Ferretti and Rossini were said to have decided on the Cinderella story one freezing December night (23 December) in Cartoni's house in Rome. While Ferretti feverishly created the libretto that same night, Rossini slept in a bed in the same room, and the opera was premièred a month later. For an account of the preparation for *Cenerentola* see Osborne, *Rossini*, p. 32-36. Jacopo Ferretti's outline to the background to his work *Alcune pagine della mia vita: delle vicende della poesia melodrammatica in Roma - Memoria seconda*, ed. Francesco Paolo Russo, is published in *Ricercare*, vol. 8 (1996), p. 157-194.

[25] Théophile Gautier was not happy about the omission of the slipper: 'Is not Cinderella's slipper, so sweet, so little, where her imperceptible foot is still very much at ease, a poetic and novel invention?

'Little Cinders'), has a father not a stepmother, and is advised by a philosopher rather than by a fairy godmother. These substitutions created a better balance between the genders, and therefore also between the vocality of the characters. By replacing the godmother with a godfather figure, Rossini was able to emphasize the contrasts between the paternalistic bass voices of Alidoro and Don Magnifico: the honourable versus the *buffo*.

Ferretti's plot twists satisfyingly around elements of disguise and deceit, focussing on the relationships between the fantastically conceited and petulant Don Magnifico (whose name illuminates his character), his two self-engrossed daughters, and their repressed half-sister Angelina. The bickering of the Magnifico family is counterbalanced by the adroitness of Prince Ramiro, whose humorous cross-dressing with his valet Dandini has much in common with the pranks of the Contessa Almaviva and Cherubino in Mozart's *Le Nozze di Figaro*. Angelina's stepsisters (Tisbe and Clorinda) share a desire for a fast-track up the social ladder, but their lust for the throne has nothing to do with any superior morality, or with dispensing judgement; for them, the throne means glamour and exposure. Angelina does not conform to the heroine stereotype of the early nineteenth century; she is not one of the fainting heroines of the pastoral operatic genre, not the intrepid *sauvateuse* of a rescue opera, nor one of the helplessly grateful Cinderellas presented by Isouard or Sor. Neither is Angelina the 'Little Angel' that her true name presupposes. Indeed *La Cenerentola's* subtitle 'The triumph of goodness' (*La bontà in trionfo*) is a red herring as far as the work's fundamentally satirical premise was concerned, and Rossini's heroine can be interpreted as having, as we shall see, a discreetly hidden sting in her tail.

Rossini's opera follows the same outline as the traditional Cinderella story, but with a few modifications. The opera opens in Don Magnifico's kitchen where his unwanted daughter Angelina (Cenerentola) from a previous marriage is treated as the family servant. Cenerentola's boisterous stepsisters mock her for her plaintive song. When she answers the door to 'a beggar' (in fact Alidoro, Prince Ramiro's adviser in disguise), she demonstrates her

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Well, Cinderella without a slipper, oh heavens! Never has the nonchalance of Italian librettists been further off the mark [...]. There is in its place a banal bracelet [...] a bracelet, that is such a horrible idea, that one passes entirely over the scene in which it appears.' ['La pantoufle de Cendrillon, si mignonne, si petite, où son imperceptible pied est encore trop à l'aise, n'est-ce point une invention poétique et nouvelle? Eh bien, Cendrillon sans pantoufle, ô ciel! Jamais la nonchalance italienne des faiseurs de libretti n'a été plus loin. [...]. Il y a en place un banal bracelet [...] un bracelet, cela est tellement horrible, que l'on passe entièrement la scène où il en est question.'], Théophile Gautier, *Histoire de l'art dramatique en France, depuis vingt-cinq ans*, 6 vols (Paris: Hetzel, 1858), vol. 1, p. 309-10 (4 November 1839).

generosity by sparing some food for him. Word arrives that Prince Ramiro will search for his bride at the next royal ball, and the daughters of Don Magnifico are asked to attend. The stepsisters demand that Cenerentola prepare them for the occasion, not considering for an instant that she too should be invited. Cenerentola is resentful, but is distracted by a visit from 'Dandini' (in fact Prince Ramiro in disguise). Cenerentola and the visitor fall in love, but without expectation of an alliance. When Cenerentola asks her father if she might also attend the ball, he repudiates her cruelly in front of the assembled company. The first act ends when the Magnifico family, assembled at Ramiro's ball, regard with dismayed jealousy a beautiful stranger who, under the guidance of Alidoro, is their own Angelina in disguise.

In Act 2, the stepsisters compete for the hand of Dandini whom they mistakenly believe to be the prince. Don Magnifico (also duped by Dandini's disguise) is teased into boasting about the financial gains he expects from a match between the young man and one of his daughters, only to have Dandini reveal that in truth he has only the income of a valet. Ramiro, still taking the role of his own valet, expresses his love for Cenerentola, who, returning his interest, offers him a bracelet that matches one she is wearing: if he can establish her true identity by seeking out her bracelet after the ball has ended, he may marry her. Back in Magnifico's house, Clorinda and Tisbe refer jealously to the similarity between Cenerentola and the mystery woman at the ball. When a storm conveniently forces Ramiro and Dandini to take shelter in their house, Cenerentola, still wearing her bracelet, is recognised by Ramiro, and the two are united. In the final scene at the palace, Cenerentola takes her place on the throne, and she pardons her stupefied family for their ill-doing toward her.

Many of Rossini's early *buffa* operas thrived on the interaction of characters in ensembles more than on detached eulogising arias, and this is broadly the case in *La Cenerentola*. The wealth of ensemble writing ranges from duets, a quartet, a quintet, a sextet to a septet. Ensemble highlights include the first duet between Cenerentola and Ramiro, 'Un soave no so che' ('So ardently I gaze'), which bursts with faltering musical heartbeats and elated coloratura; the quintet in Act 1, beginning 'Signor, una parola' ('Signor, just one word'); the duet between Dandini and Don Magnifico, 'Un segreto d'importanza' ('An important secret'); and the Act 2 sextet 'Questo è un nodo avviluppato' ('This is a tangled knot') as the stupefied company witnesses the disentanglement of the plot. Solo highlights range from patter songs for Don Magnifico to monumental arias for Cenerentola, Ramiro, and Alidoro. The finale to Act 1 has all the makings of a good *buffa* finale: characters reacting

with heightened emotions to a scenario that seems out of their control. Throughout the opera, the music bears Rossini's unmistakably exhilarating fingerprint; its 'crucial element' being, as described by Carl Dahlhaus 'not the substance it is based on so much as the whirligig frenzy it is drawn into', the 'touch of the demonic strong enough to shock and repel'.[26]

The ball scene in *La Cenerentola* differs from other treatments of the story in that Rossini chose not to depict the dancing itself. Instead of a possible array of exhilarating *contredanses* or *quadrilles*, the action in that scene is focussed on the dazzling arrival of Cenerentola, which stuns onlookers both on and off the stage. Here Rossini's character portrayals gain depth as Cenerentola's arrival is greeted in turn with surprise, jealousy, and adulation. The emotional crisis shared by Tisbe and Clorinda is contrasted musically against the dignity of other characters, and against the stately glamour of the dramatic tableau. Thus, Rossini's music exposes the highs and lows of aristocratic virtue within a single scene. Unlike *Les Pages du Duc de Vendôme*, in which the importance of character development and plot was subjugated to the pleasures of the peasant dances, *La Cenerentola* sacrificed dance to plot.

The fact that Ferretti's libretto endorses, from a twentieth-century perspective, several interesting parallels between Cinderella and Marie-Caroline (namely the Duc de Berry's search for his future queen, the two women's love of the ballroom, their comparably exquisite feet, their acceptance of the throne, and of course, their links to Rossini), is already persuasive. There were, however, other convincing circumstantial premises that allow us to compare the two women.

Like Cenerentola, who was deemed to be socially inferior to Prince Ramiro, Marie-Caroline (a minor Neapolitan princess) was deemed inferior to her husband. Both women also had close relatives with high-ranking social aspirations (Cenerentola's stepsisters aspired to marry Prince Ramiro, while Marie-Caroline's aunt was already married to Louis-Philippe d'Orléans), and each had been selected for their new husbands by third parties (Alidoro and the Louis XVIII respectively).[27] Both Cenerentola and Marie-Caroline were rejected by their

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[26] Dahlhaus, *Nineteenth Century Music*, trans. J. Bradford Robinson (California: University of California Press, 1989), p. 60 and p. 63.

[27] Marie-Caroline's aunt was married to Louis-Philippe d'Orléans, and was in fact to become Reine Marie-Amélie in 1830. One of the duchess's sisters (Marie-Christine) married into the Spanish royal family in 1830. Her grandfather, self-proclaimed Ferdinand 1er des Deux Siciles, made an auspicious visit to France in 1817, that was commemorated on 4 March at the Opéra by the three-act opera *Roger des deux Siciles*. Her father François I des Deux Siciles (since 1825) arrived in 1830 as

father figures (Don Magnifico and Louis XVIII), and both were to demonstrate their unexpected and excessive potential for personal development (Angelina acquired the throne that was fervently desired by others, while Marie-Caroline took up the vanguard for the Bourbon crown). Further still, both marriages contained strong elements of realism. While Rossini's opera had removed the fairytale elements, so too much of the fantasy associated with royalty had been dissipated before the Bourbons returned in 1814. Like her royal predecessors of the *ancien régime* and the Empire, who had relied on mythological allegory for self-promotion, Marie-Caroline was turning to historical allegory to bolster her pretensions of majesty.

In a striking circumstantial parallel, just as in *La Cenerentola* the exchange of bracelets helped to confirm the identity of the intended bride, in 1816 an exchange of portraits between the Bourbon fiancés had been arranged by the Duc de Blacas whom Louis XVIII had sent to Naples to collect Marie-Caroline; the young couple had not yet been introduced.[28] Just as in the opera the beneficent Alidoro arranges for Cenerentola's transformation into clothes fit for a princess, Louis XVIII had offered Marie-Caroline a gift of ravishing new clothing on her arrival in Marseille as she journeyed towards Paris. She effected the transformation there and then, and the impact on her peers was reported to have been dramatic:

> Madame learned a ceremonial custom that she wanted to observe: that of changing her own clothes for those offered by France. She reappeared resplendent and was admired from all sides [...]. She seemed happy and satisfied by the respectful attentiveness with which she was surrounded.[29]

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part of a trip to Spain for the wedding of his daughter Marie-Christine. Louis-Philippe d'Orléans presented an extravagant ball at the Palais-Royal in his honour.

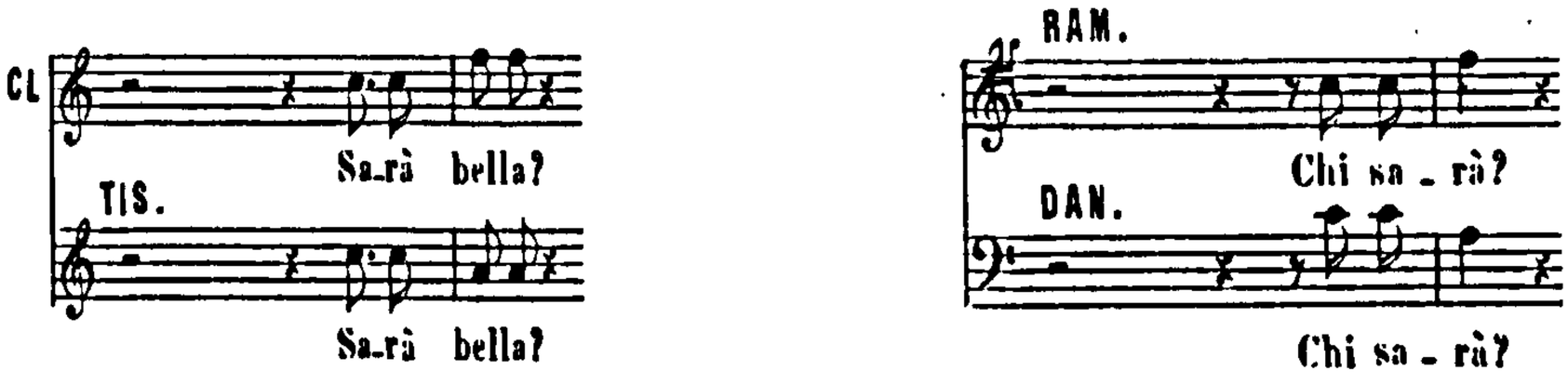
[28] The portrait of the Duc de Berry was apparently not flattering: 'Monseigneur seemed to me to have pleased Madame, she told me that she found him better than in the portrait of him that had been sent to Naples.' ['Monseigneur me parut avoir plu à Madame, elle me dit qu'elle le trouvait mieux que son portrait qui lui avait été envoyé à Naples.'], Gontaut, *Mémoires*, p. 163.

Curiously, too, in a portrait of the duchess that evidently dates from the early Restoration, she wears a bracelet that bears a miniature portrait of the duke. See Rosset, *Collection de Vinck*, vol. 5, no. 10109.

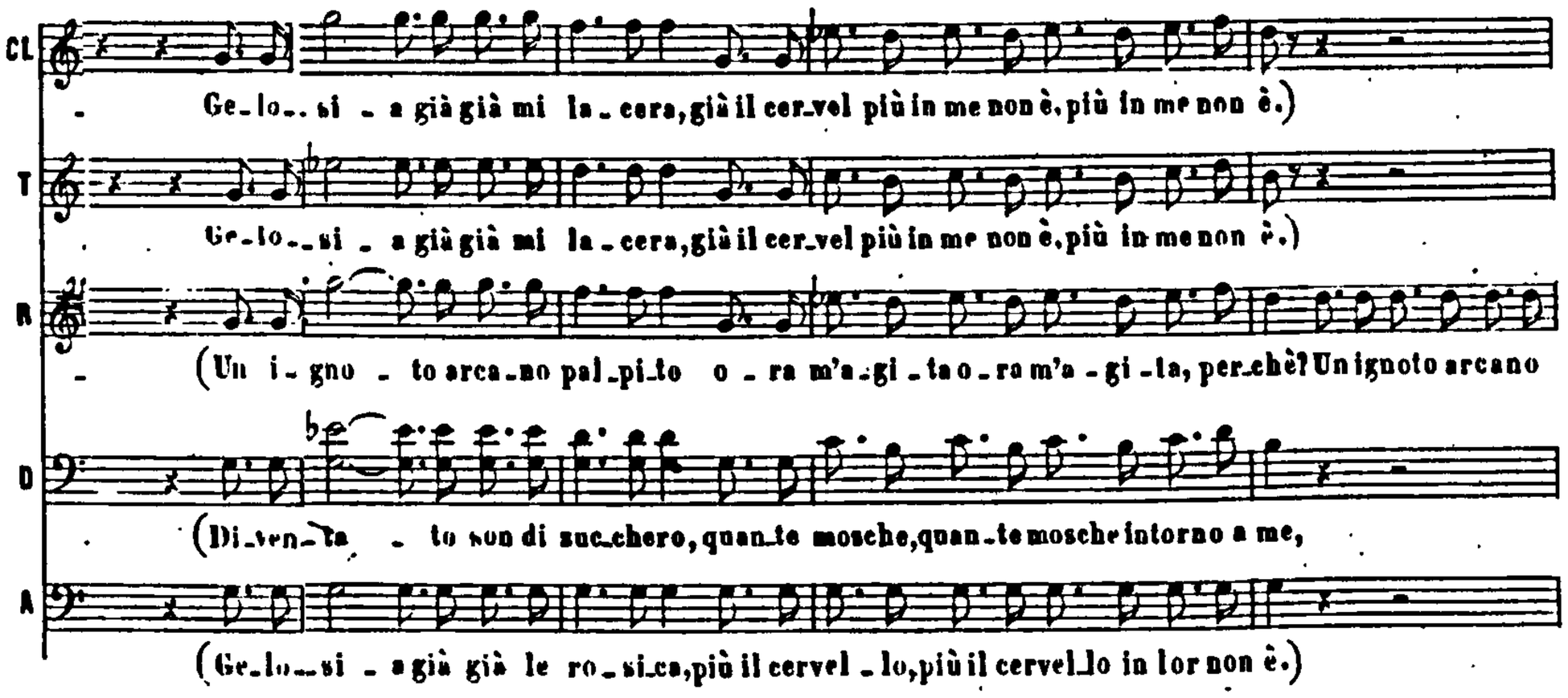
[29] 'Puis elle lui apprit un cérémonial d'usage auquel Madame voulut bien se soumettre: celui de changer ses vêtements et de se parer de ceux offerts par la France. Elle reparut alors resplendissante et fut généralement admirée [...]. Elle nous parut heureuse et satisfaite des respectueux empressements dont elle fut entourée.' Gontaut, *Mémoires*, p. 160.

In the parallel scene in Rossini's opera, at the moment of Cenerentola's appearance at Ramiro's ball, her beauty causes the male chorus to cry out 'Ah! Della bella incognita', (Oh! What a beautiful mystery woman').[30] Just as jealousy must have gnawed at the minds of some of the women surrounding the transformed Duchesse de Berry in 1816, Rossini's stepsisters Tisbe and Clorinda can scarcely contain their jealousy when they see 'the beautiful stranger' at Ramiro's ball. Curiosity and animosity are combined in the music with insistent dotted rhythms, while shards of anxiety dart from all corners (see Ex. 10 and Ex. 11):

Ex. 10: Tisbe and Clorinda - 'Sarà bella?' and Ramiro and Dandini 'Chi sarà'



Ex. 11: Ensemble - 'Gelosia già, già mi lacera'.



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[30] Rossini, *La Cenerentola*, Act 2, Introduction.

As a critical representation of old-world values, the characterisations of the Magnifico family, in particular, offered ample opportunity for a symbolic reading against the backdrop of the late Restoration in Paris. The domestic infighting of the Magnifico family, for example, struck an interesting chord alongside the developing saga of the Bourbon family (the fact that the Bourbons had a dog named Tisbé may even have reflected the court's familiarity with the name of one of Cinderella's stepsisters).[31] Don Magnifico took on the characteristics of an eighteenth-century buffo anti-hero, who could easily have reminded Parisian audiences of Louis XVIII. Magnifico's gluttonous attitude to food (a metaphor for aristocratic greed) recalled the many caricatures of Louis XVIII and his expansive royal *bouche*.[32] His first spluttering patter aria 'Miei rampolli femminini' ('My female offspring') (Act 1, scene 2), defined him as a drunkard who spouted lower-class vulgarities. In his chuntering he exposed his dream that one of his daughters should marry and breed with Prince Ramiro, so providing him with royal grandchildren. His disappointment about the girls' gender was implicit in his admonitions: refusing to kiss their hands, he says 'I disown

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[31] For an outline of the tensions between the Bourbons and the Orléans, see Mansel, *Louis XVIII*, p. 292-3 and p. 381. An incident involving the dog Tisbé is described in Boigne, *Mémoires*, vol. 1, p. 431. Whether or not the dog was named after Cinderella's stepsister is not clear.

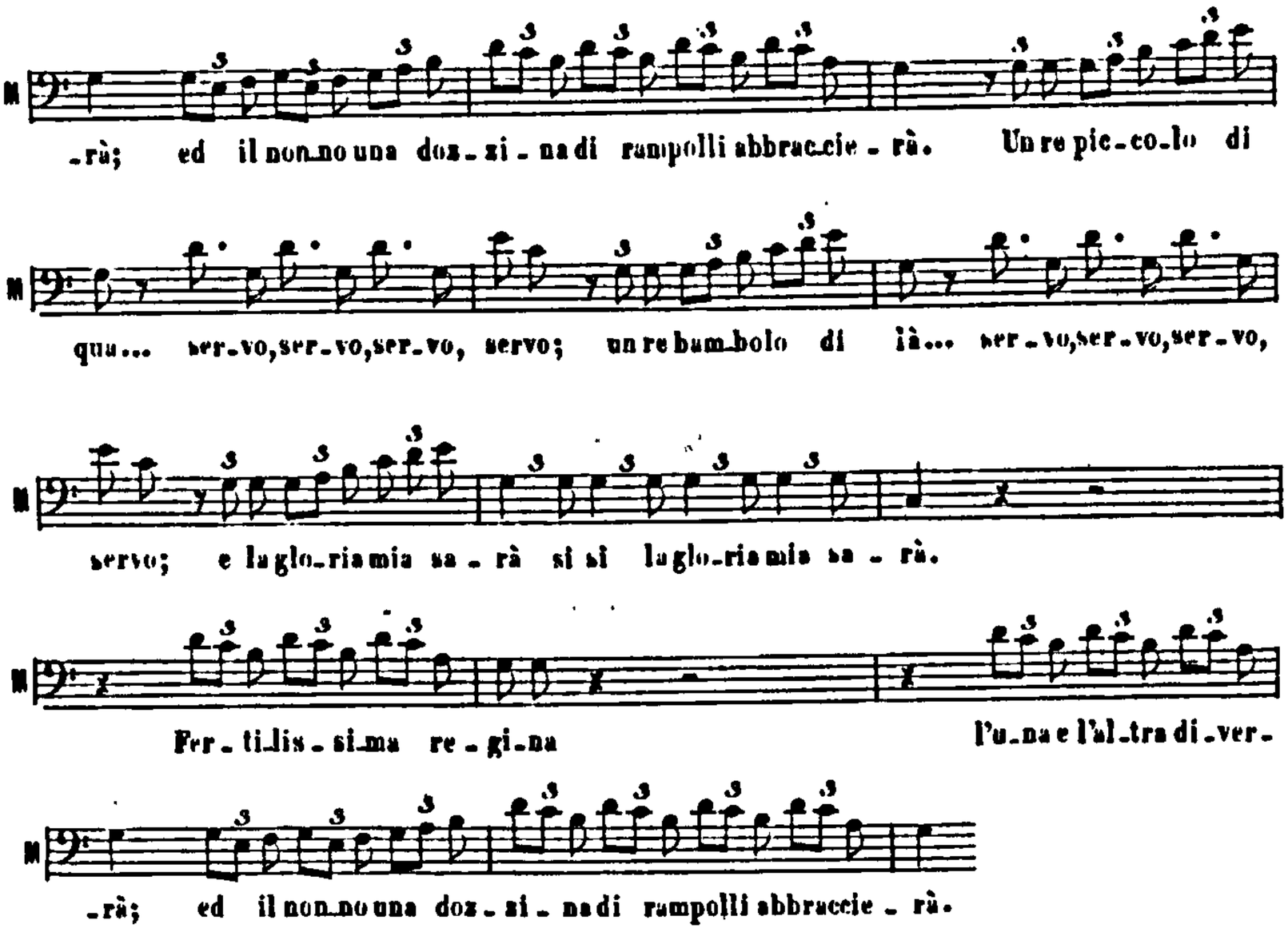
[32] Isouard's 1810 version of the Cinderella story named the father Montefiascone (Mount Fiasco). The figurative name was that of an Italian town, but also that of a notorious aristocratic glutton of the turn of the century, who was discussed in Boigne, *Mémoires*, vol. 1, p. 239-41. The *Bouche* (the 'Mouth'), was the official name given to the royal department dealing with Louis's food. Like Daumier's controversial 'Gargantua' caricatures of Louis-Philippe, humorous images of Louis XVIII as 'La Bouche' were plentiful (see *Un Gourmand!* pub. 1820, in Rosset, *Collection de Vinck*, vol. 5, no. 9664).

Philip Mansel believes that there was a relationship between the manner in which Louis governed his kitchen and the way he ruled his country: 'A sign of the Court's *domesticité* was the enormous size of the *Bouche*, which numbered 158 people in 1815, far more than under Napoleon I. Many of these were purely ceremonial figures, serving Louis at table only when he ate in public, two or three times a year, at the *Grand Couvert*. But others worked in the Tuileries kitchens or served at table: the first time the Duchesse d'Orléans dined with Louis she was amazed at the '*quantité incroyable*' of servants waiting at table' Mansel, *Louis XVIII*, p. 274. In October 1818, Mansel continues, the court received 2,928 pounds of grapes and 4,890 pounds of pears.

Under Louis-Philippe, the continuing identification of the monarch with gluttony coincided with the parliamentary debate about the abolition of hereditary peers (abolition was approved by both chambers in late 1831), a pamphlet by M. Cormenin about the inordinate costs of maintaining the royal court cited a portion of the budgetary sum for the king's *Bouche* to be two thousand francs, 'just to heat the underground furnaces of "The Mouth"' ['seulement pour échauffer les fourneaux souterrains de la Bouche', Louis Blanc, *Histoire de dix ans*, 5 vols (Paris: Pagnerre, 1946, 6th ed.), p. 137.

you; I am ashamed! Your arrival has interrupted my splendid dream'.[33] He continues: 'How I am mortified! By these daughters of a baron!'.[34] The sisters' birth had presumably 'interrupted' his hopes for a male heir. He could predict little use for the girls outside their breeding potential ('You will both become the most fertile of queens, and the grandfather will embrace a dozen little grandsons. A little baby king here [...] a little baby king there [...] and glory will be mine.' (see Ex. 12):[35]

Ex. 12: Magnifico - 'Un re piccolo qua [...] servo, servo, servo'.



The parallel between Don Magnifico's comical desperation for 'little kings' and the Bourbon family's recent anxiety to produce a royal progenitor would not have been missed by astute Restoration audiences after June 1822.

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[33] '[ricusando di dar loro a baciar la mano] vi ripudio, mi vergogno! un magnifico mio sogno mi veniste a sconcertar'.

[34] 'Come son mortificate! degne figlie d'un Barone!'

[35] 'Fertilissima regina, l'una e l'altra diverrà. Un re piccolo di qua: servo, servo, un re bambolo di là, e la gloria mia sarà'.

Angelina's stepsisters provided plausible allegories for Parisian society's jealous old maids. During their excited preparations for the ball, Tisbe and Clorinda fall into role-playing, each imagining herself to be Prince Ramiro's chosen queen. Their insincere bowing and scraping reflected the obsequious aspirations of all the young ladies in the Théâtre Italien audience and their parody of courtly grace satirised the conceit of those members of the public who still cherished social privilege:

Tisbe:	'M'inclino a Vostra Altezza.	Tisbe:	I bend before your Majesty.
Clorinda:	Anzi all'Altezza Vostra.	Clorinda:	And I before yours.
[...]	[...]	[...]	[...]
Tisbe:	Poter del mondo!	Tisbe:	Divine power.
Clorinda:	Le faccio riverenza	Clorinda:	I extend my reverence.
Tisbe:	Oh ! mi sprofondo.[36]	Tisbe:	I bow down to the ground.

For the Restoration's courtly hangers-on, such scenes nourished the empty fantasy that the Bourbon court could still have a significant and enduring function in society. At the beginning of the Restoration in particular, returning aristocratic exiles had found reintegration uncomfortable, relying on the court to justify their own status. The heady indulgence of royalists celebrating the marriage of the Duc and Duchesse de Berry in 1816, for example, provoked criticism from the Comtesse de Boigne because the event had jarred against what was an embarrassing political juncture for the French royal family: the wedding had coincided with the turbulence of the *Terreur blanche*, and with the tensions surrounding the *Chambre introuvable*. Boigne's expression of detachment betrayed her repugnance of the event itself as much as its celebrants' dependence on the royal court:

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[36] Act 1, scene 6. This exchange is a reminder of the Act 1 duet in Mozart's *Le nozze di Figaro* when Susannah locks horns with Marcellina in mutual mock respect.

In 1818 Rossini was reported to have snubbed England's disgraced Queen Caroline of Brunswick with a boorish comment during a meeting in Pesaro. Queen Caroline had outraged European society by becoming the lover of Bartolomeo Bergami. Rossini's refusal to bow was parodically spoken in the third person: 'certain rheumatic afflictions, having deprived him of elasticity in his spine, do not permit him to make the accustomed bows prescribed by court etiquette' Osborne, *Rossini*, p. 48.

> I did not regret for one minute that I did not attend the festivities given in France for the marriage of Monsieur le Duc de Berry. The stories that reached us described them as being magnificent enough to cause the general distress of the kingdom. They were more animated than one should have hoped for in such painful circumstances. The greater part of those called on to take part in them belonged to a class of people who regard the court as a necessary complement to their existence. When any disgraceful political circumstance draws them from this atmosphere, they lack something in their lives. A great number of them had been deprived of attending the court festivals because of the events surrounding the Revolution; they had a spirit of debutantes and a neophytic zeal that at least simulated gaiety even if this was not completely genuine.
>
> I do not know to what extent the public identified with these joys; I was absent and the reports were contradictory.[37]

Against the example of the fairytale Bourbon marriage, Rossini's *La Cenerentola* afforded a focal point for those who wished to glory in the perpetuation of their antiquated royal family but also, paradoxically, for those who wished to laugh at its expense.

The flagrant infidelities of the characters in *La Cenerentola* offered ample opportunity for members of the public who were entertained by the caricatured hypocrisy of men like Marshals Marmont and Murat in *Les Pages*. Don Magnifico's false affection for his daughters and the stepsisters' mendacious homage to one another were all echoed, not only in the Bourbon family, but also in wider Restoration society. Although the opera represented an escape from reality, its world of pretension and hedonism confronted the public with a mirror image of itself. While the emergence of the *nouveau riche* represented new beginnings (in the form of Angelina), the disconcerting unpredictability we will identify in Rossini's heroine was likewise a premonition of the inevitable hypocrisy of the new regime.

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[37] 'Aussi n'éprouvai-je aucun regret de ne point assister aux fêtes données en France pour le mariage de monsieur le duc de Berry. Les récits qui nous en arrivaient les représentaient comme ayant été aussi magnifiques que le permettait la détresse générale du royaume. Elles avaient été plus animées qu'on ne devait s'y attendre dans de si pénibles circonstances. La plupart de ceux appelés à y figurer appartenaient à une classe de personnes qui regardent la Cour comme nécessaire au complément de leur existence. Quand une circonstance quelconque de disgrâce ou de politique les tire de cette atmosphère, il manque quelque chose à leur vie. Un grand nombre d'entre elles avaient été privées d'assister à des fêtes de Cour par les événements de la Révolution; elles y portaient un entrain de débutantes et un zèle de néophytes qui simulaient au moins la gaîté si elle n'était pas complètement de bon aloi.

Je ne sais jusqu'à quel point le public s'identifia à ces joies; j'étais absente et les rapports furents contradictoires.' Boigne, *Mémoires*, vol. 1, p. 576-7.

Endorsing such a premonition, liberal voices crying out for social reforms voiced their objections to the indulgences of the upper classes. Towards the end of the Restoration, for example, when Abraham Mendelssohn (father of Felix) visited Paris, he wrote that despite the Empire's promise of change, much of the glamour and egoism that had been the downfall of the *ancien régime* had been restored along with the Bourbons: 'One thing is clear: with Charles X only a small part of the corruptness, baseness, avarice and intrigue of the upper classes has been banished.'[38] In *La Cenerentola*, Rossini and Ferretti had illustrated their own perceptions of vice with their portrayal of jealousy at Prince Ramiro's ball, of the ambitions of Don Magnifico to provide Ramiro with a brood mare, and of the jealousy of the stepsisters when Cenerentola is chosen. Interpreting *La Cenerentola* as a model for society, Abraham Mendelssohn might well have added hedonism and narcissism to his list of moral concerns.

It was in the Restoration ballroom (as in that of Ramiro) that, despite all pretensions towards glamour, the 'corruptness, baseness, avarice and intrigue' deplored by Mendelssohn found their apotheoses. Evenings of dance created an environment for social encounters in which dance was a polite form of social foreplay. Beyond the dance itself, select participants managed their business affairs, marriages were planned, the social ladder was climbed, and clandestine affairs were carried out. *La Cenerentola* could well be received as an accurate mirror of that society.

The Restoration Ballroom

According to Bernard-Chevalier, writing for the *Lanterne Magique* in 1834, the word 'bal' was etymologically related to the 'ball' used in tennis (*jeu de paume*), which was originally played without a racket, and derived its name from the expressive movements achieved when reaching for the ball ('one danced while playing with the palm').[39] 'Bal' and 'jeu' (ball and

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[38] Cairns quotes Sébastien Hensel, *The Mendelssohn Family*, trans. C. Kingemann, 2 vols (London: 1881) vol. 1, p. 255; orig., *Die Familie Mendelssohn, 1729-1847, nach Briefen und Tagebüchern*, 3 vols (Berlin: B. Behr, 1879), in David Cairns, ed., *Berlioz,* 2 vols; *Volume One: The Making of an Artist 1803-1832* (London: Sphere Books, 1990), p. 364.

[39] 'The words 'ball', 'ballet', 'acting', are derived from the fact that originally one danced while playing tennis with the hand, a game for which one used, as today, a *ball.* It was not so long ago that

game) were, then, inextricably linked to competition. Fittingly, ballrooms had evolved into sporting recreation grounds - public playgrounds where illusions of a lost utopia were undercut by elements of confrontation, social rivalry, and avarice. 'Recreation' was key to these events, for which the aim was to recreate or recapture elements of make-believe that stemmed from childhood play. Thus, balls signified the transgression of social barriers, and the relinquishing of adult responsibility, and offered an escape-route from the cosseted world of social etiquette. The diurnal-nocturnal divide was also transgressed so that, for the dancing Parisian elite, midnight was the time for arrival at a ball: it was the time to demonstrate stamina and curiosity, and to experience the nocturnal hours in full.[40] The fact that balls (including those held at the Opéra) finished in the early hours of the morning meant that people leaving even the finest ballrooms were on the streets of Paris at the same time as those leaving the city's seedier establishments. Balls, therefore, more than theatre, were identified with a rare but significant sense of communality, a renunciation of difference, that was also a celebration of the innately primal nature of the human state.

Marie-Caroline de Berry, with her 'air of excessive youth', had long been vulnerable to the temptations of dance.[41] Even during her early pregnancies she had refused to stay away from the dance floor, where, instead of dancing, she had walked among the dancers on the arm of her husband.[42] The royal couple were renowned for their lively social calendar, and in

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one used the expression *baller* (from the Latin *ballare*) for 'to amuse oneself', 'to divert oneself.' ['Les mots bal, ballet, baladin, viennent de ce qu'originairement on dansait en jouant à la paume, jeu pour lequel on se servait comme aujourd'hui d'une *balle.* Il n'y a même pas longtemps qu'on employait l'expression *baller* (du latin *ballare*) pour dire s'amuser, se divertir'], extract from an unpublished novel by Bernard-Chevalier, 'Un bal de l'Opéra', *Lanterne magique* (February 1834), p. 485.

[40] An unnamed writer for the *Corsaire* related his experiences late one night in Paris during 1827: 'It was two in the morning; I had just spent an evening with several young people, rather sensible and nicely settled down, who wanted to brighten up the Maundy Thursday with a dinner among friends, but who, at that advanced hour of the night, believed it more proper to take to their beds, than to run around the streets, and I, a little warmed by their good wine and boiling punch, made my way towards the Opéra, so that I would not have on my conscience a carnival during which I omitted to go to the ball.' ['Il était deux heures du matin; je venais de passer la soirée avec quelques jeunes gens bien sages, bien rangés qui avaient voulu égayer le jeudi gras par un souper d'amis, mais qui, à cette heure avancée de la nuit, avaient cru plus convenable de gagner leur lit, que de courir les rues, et moi, un peu échauffé par leur bon vin et leur punch brûlant, je me dirigeai vers l'Opéra pour ne pas avoir sur la conscience un carnaval passé sans aller au bal'], *Le Corsaire* (25 February 1827).

[41] 'son air d'excessive jeunesse' Boigne, *Mémoires*, vol. 1, p. 621.

[42] 'Her condition prevented her from dancing; but she walked several times among the dancers giving her arm to her husband' ['Son état l'empêchait de danser; mais elle se promena plusieurs fois dans le bal donnant le bras à son mari.'], Boigne, *Mémoires*, vol. 1, p. 621. Because of her frequent

addition to attending society balls outside the court, the Duc de Berry had hosted at least five such events at the royal residences between the time of his marriage in 1816 and his death in 1820.[43]

As the duke's assassination had occurred during the carnival season of 1820, the annual memorial service was to blemish his widow's enjoyment of the carnival each year. For the remainder of the Restoration Marie-Caroline was restricted by etiquette from attending balls outside the court. As her initial display of mourning came to a close, she began organising events at the Tuileries palace. Rossini's *La Cenerentola* had been on the Parisian stage for less than a year when, in 1823, Marie-Louise Joséphine de Gontaut, *gouvernante des enfants de France*, noted: 'Balls are starting, above all at court. The Duchesse de Berry loves them, and is inexhaustible.'[44] Towards the late 1820s, balls at the Tuileries became more lavish and more frequent. Like Cenerentola, the duchess had found her way to appearing at her beloved dance. The sudden increase in numbers of balls organised at the court towards 1830 is evident in the details provided in Table 1. Here 'children's' denotes the balls described officially as children's balls, but to which adults were also invited, and 'Gontaut' denotes the balls that were organised under Marie-Louise de Gontaut's name in order to protect Marie-Caroline from criticism for holding too many adult balls. It was also a ploy to filter out any unwanted guests.[45]

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pregnancies during the early Restoration, there were other occasions when the duchess did not dance: 'Monsieur le Duc and Madame la Duchesse de Berry honoured the ball with their presence. The princess did not dance; but, as she was dressed as a queen of the Middle Ages, with a floating veil and gold brocaded velvet, nobody noticed her not dancing' ['Monsieur le duc et madame la Duchesse de Berry l'honorèrent de leur présence. La princesse ne dansa pas; mais, comme elle était vêtue en reine du moyen âge, avec un voile flottant et en velours chamarré de broderies d'or, on ne le remarqua pas.'], Boigne, *Mémoires*, vol. 2, p. 34.

[43] Waquet, *Les Fêtes royales*, 'Chronologie des fêtes sous la Restauration', p. 165-178. See also p. 64-66 for anecdotal descriptions of the Duchesse de Berry's other balls.

[44] L. Pelissier, *Le Portefeuille de la Comtesse d'Albany* (1902), p. 628, letter from Madame de Laborde to Comtesse d'Albany (20 December 1823), reported in Gontaut *Mémoires* (1893), p. 266, quoted in turn in Mansel, *The Court of France*, p. 138.

[45] Boigne, *Mémoires*, vol. 2, p. 196.

Table 1: Balls at court organised by the Duc and Duchesse de Berry.[46]

1815	1	January 12; February 2.
1818	4	January 3, 6 ('children's'), 24 ('children's'); November 5.
1820	3	January 10, 23, 29.
1823	1	December 29.
1824	3	February 26; March 7; May 30.
1825	1	April 20.
1826	1	January 17.
1827	4	January 7 ('children's'), 16, 30; February 26 ('Gontaut').
1828	5	January 8, 12 ('children's'), 26 ('children's'), 31; February 2 ('Gontaut').
1829	7	January 6, 8 ('children's'), 13 ('Neapolitan, Catalan, Swiss and Chinese'), 25 ('children's'), 27 ('Turkish' or 'Oriental'); February 3; March 2 ('Marie Stuart').
1830	2	February 1, May 22.

The statistical increase in the number of special events at court (including theatrical performances) is outlined in Table 2. Although this list includes excerpts from operas, concerts and theatrical productions, it does not include balls.[47]

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[46] The table is based on information in Waquet, *Les Fêtes royales*, 'Chronologie des fêtes sous la Restauration', p. 165-178. The supplementary descriptions are from corresponding editions of the *Courrier des Spectacles*.

[47] 'After tomorrow, I still have a number of evenings and balls, Sunday again at the court and again on Tuesday; all this because of the Duchesse de Berry, who loves to dance, and who since the assassination of the duke no longer dares accept invitations at private houses' ['Après demain, j'ai encore nombre de soirées et bals, dimanche encore à la cour et mardi encore; tout cela, à cause de la Duchesse de Berry qui aime à danser et qui depuis l'assassinat du duc n'ose plus accepter des invitations chez des particuliers'], Apponyi, *Vingt-cinq ans à Paris*, vol. 1, p. 44 (25 January 1827). 'For an entire week, I have done nothing but dance and sleep, and almost always at the court' ['Depuis une semaine entière, je ne fais que danser et dormir, et presque toujours à la cour'] Apponyi, *Vingt-cinq ans à Paris*, vol. 1, p. 45 (1 February 1827).

Table 2: Fêtes held at court during the Restoration[48]

1814	1815	1816	1817	1818	1819	1820	1821	1822	1823	1824	1825	1826	1827	1828	1829	1830
8	9	16	19	20	23	17	12	15	28	20	23	33	30	32	30	25

The music, choreography and visual design available for Marie-Caroline's Restoration balls were all integral to the experience, and the genres of dances were diverse.[49] The *contredanse* and *quadrille* (closely related to formal square-dances), were both respectable currency, while the *galop,* the *cotillon* and the *tarantelle* were later additions deemed to be more *risqué*.[50] The *contredanse* set its dancers in opposition to each other in a manner reminiscent of military formations. Sets of dances were often entitled *quadrille de contredanses*, a genre that adhered to a strict format (containing *Le Pantalon*, *L'Eté*, *La Poule*, *La Pastourelle*, *La Trénis*, and *Finale*; each of these dance movements could bear a subtitle that referred to its inspirational melody).[51] Private tutors were often engaged to teach new dances at home, in order to prevent embarrassment in the ballroom.[52]

Dances often took their musical themes from the operatic or dance repertoire ('on pieces borrowed from fashionable works'), a tradition that was already familiar to contemporaries of the Empire.[53] The current lyric stage repertoire was reflected in dance

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[48] These statistics are based on those in Waquet, *Les Fêtes royales*, 'Chronologie des fêtes sous la Restauration', p. 165-178.

[49] For an outline of the steps for a rich variety of French dances see *Neue vollständige Tanzschule für die elegante Welt* (n. pub., 1830), p. 83-111.

[50] See also Pauline Norton, 'Cotillon', *New Grove Dictionary of Music*, 2nd edition. Apponyi was proud to have introduced the *cotillon* to the French court: 'Up to the present day people were prejudiced against this dance: it was found to be indecent. Mme la Duchesse de Berry ordered me to lead this cotillon' ['Jusqu'à ce jour on avait des préjugés contre cette danse: on la trouvait indécente. Mme la duchesse de Berry m'a ordonné de diriger ce cotillon'], Apponyi, *Vingt-cinq ans à Paris*, vol. 1, p. 46 (1 February 1827).

[51] This format also became common currency in England, see P. J. S. Richardson, *The Social Dances of the Nineteenth Century in England* (London: n. pub., 1960). See Andrew Lamb, 'Quadrille', *New Grove Dictionary of Music*, 2nd edition.

[52] See Albert, *L'Art de danser à la ville et à la cour, ou Nouvelle méthode des vrais principes de la danse française et étrangère. Manuel à l'usage des maîtres à danser, des mères de famille et maîtresses de pension* (Paris: Collinet, 1834).

[53] 'sur pièces empruntées aux pièces en vogue', Masson, *Carnaval* (Paris: n. pub., 1809), p. 101.

titles. Thus, for example, one publication of *quadrille* music (around 1830) offered sets of dances on themes from *La Muette, Masaniello, Hussard de Felsheim, Marie, La Dame blanche, Moïse,* and *Aladin*, and *Le Comte Ory*.[54] The inclusion of a *quadrille de contredanses* extracted from the opera *La Forêt de Sénart, ou La Partie de chasse d'Henri IV,* indicated that propagandist concerns were as rife in the ballroom as they were on stage.[55]

Interestingly too, for a *quadrille* arrangement of Isouard's and Benincori's exotic opera *Aladin*, the individual dances were named after the operatic characters (*La Timorkan, L'Aladin, L'Almasi, La Zarino, Pas de Negro*). [56] In order for such operas to be lampooned successfully, ball-goers were, therefore, expected to be familiar with the dramatic characterisation as well as the music of the operas emulated by the *quadrilles*.[57] Thus, the music in balls was full of references to operatic characters, and a simple motif could conjure up the experience of a whole opera. Furthermore, abstracted from their original dramaturgical environment, these musical numbers became indistinguishable from the general non-theatrical repertoire of the ballroom. An evening of dance during the Restoration was, then, no matter of anonymous or improvised melodies; in musical as well as visual terms, it was an extension of the operatic stage.

In addition to lyrical stage numbers, excerpts from the non-lyrical stage were also presented in the ballroom, and examples from both genres were reproduced commercially.[58]

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[54] Bibliothèque Nationale, Opéra (shelfmark: ℌ 3787 II). Another collection (ℌ 3082) from the late 1830s indicates that the tradition continued. It includes arrangements of *quadrilles* based on Auber's *Domino noir* (accompanied by the piano with violin, flute or flageolet), his *Lestocq* (arr. Tolbecque), Bellini's *I Puritani,* and Rossini's *Moïse* (also arr. Tolbecque).

[55] *La Forêt de Sénart, ou la partie de chasse d'Henri IV* (*opera-comique* in three acts) was a musical arrangement by Castil-Blaze of Collé's 1774 play. It was premièred at the Odéon on 14 January 1826. The arrangement included melodies from works by Mozart, Beethoven, Rossini, Weber and Meyerbeer, as well as renditions of *Vive Henri IV* and *Charmante Gabrielle.*

[56] *Aladin* was particularly appealing as a subject for dance because of its exotic content. The popularity of dances based on *Aladin* by Isouard and Benincori (created for the inauguration of gas-lighting in the Opéra's new home Le Pelletier), helped to promote interest in the Opéra after its difficult year in the Théâtre Favart.

[57] Fulcher mentions a flurry of *quadrilles* that emanated from Auber's *La Muette* in *The Nation's Image*, p. 27.

[58] Apponyi mentioned the performance of theatrical excerpts in the ballroom: 'The little ball was very amusing, they presented several theatrical scenes there.' ['Le petit bal a été fort amusant, on y a représenté plusieurs scènes de comédie'], Apponyi, *Vingt-cinq ans à Paris*, vol. 2, p. 340 (20 February 1833). Other musical numbers were borrowed from the lyric stage: the salons were full of young ladies attempting to sing the repertoire of famous opera singers.

Through their publication for the mass market, individual musical (or thespian) numbers became bastardised abstracts, lost and orphaned, as it were, from their original context. Their use in the ballroom and at other musical gatherings instilled into the everyday a false sense of the theatrical. The popular interest, within the higher and lower echelons of society, in learning theatrical parts and operatic roles *par coeur* can be accounted for in part by the availability of commercial copies. Marie-Caroline's own retentive musical memory was related by Mme de Gontaut: 'Mme la Duchesse de Berry had a prodigious facility: an opera heard only once was remembered by her'.[59] In these various manifestations of theatrical music in the ballroom, the blurring of fact with theatrical fiction was achieved in the ballroom as it was in the world outside the theatre.

The vogue of exoticism had also infiltrated Restoration society balls. It found its apotheosis in one of Marie-Caroline's most wanton displays of decadence: her colourful *Bal turc* of January 1828.[60] The choice of a Turkish entertainment was politically inopportune: it flew in the face of France's support for the Greeks in their War of Independence against the oppressive Turks (1821-1830).[61] The political *faux pas* of the *Bal turc* was exacerbated by the French public's enduring grief at the death of Lord Byron at Missolonghi in 1824, after he had volunteered to fight for the Greek cause.

The duchess's *faux pas* was worsened by the fact that it jarred with the memory of a recent controversial benefit concert at Vauxhall, one of Paris's part-time concert halls (given only a year and a half before the ball on 28 April 1826) by supporters of the Greek struggle.[62]

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[59] 'avait pour la musique une prodigieuse facilité: un opéra entendu une seule fois était retenu par elle' Gontaut, *Mémoires*, p. 230-1.

[60] In 1828 the duchess's *Quadrille turc* was followed by the *Bal Candide* (with an oriental theme) for which all the women were dressed in white. The idea had been to recreate a *cour orientale* in accordance with the French vogue for all things Turkish (*turconamie*), see Waquet, *Les fêtes royales*, p. 64, and fig. 16, and Reiset, *Marie-Caroline*, p. 198.

[61] Greece had been under the rule of the Ottoman Turks since 1466. In 1830, after nearly a decade of fighting, it gained independence and became a kingdom. The Greek-Turk war had a far-reaching impact on the European cultural interest in orientalism during the early nineteenth century.

[62] Among the music chosen for the concert was the anguished 'Preghiera' from Rossini's *Moïse et Phaaron* (1827). For all Rossini's resistance to political concerns during his early career, in the late 1820s he produced three works in French that were to become models for the politicising of Grand Opéra: *Le Siège de Corinthe* (1826), *Moïse* (1827), and *Guillaume Tell* (1829). The first two were based on his Italian versions of the same story. Jane Fulcher points out that although the Greeks were ultimately defeated in *Le Siège*, their burning of the city occupied by their Turkish captors indicated that they had won a moral battle over their enemies. This opera and *Guillaume Tell* were examples of late Restoration 'patriotic aggression', see Fulcher, *The Nation's Image*, p. 42 and p. 23.

As Stendhal described it, the concert had brought together the 'highest society to unite against the inclination of the government'; only the royal family was absent.[63] The event had developed, according to Stendhal, 'the air of an act of hostility against the reigning family'. It had highlighted the intelligentsia's growing disaffection with its monarchy: 'everybody was asking themselves, "What is left now of the Bourbons?"'[64] Interestingly, Stendhal proposed the Duchesse de Berry, were she to have attended, as the person most capable of reversing the anti-monarchical sentiment engendered by the concert. Her absence, however, undermined the public's belief not only in her political integrity, but also, by association, in that of the French crown. By producing a *Bal turc* at the height of the Greek-Turk conflict, therefore, Marie-Caroline only confirmed the fragility of her political sensibilities.

In choosing Turkish culture as the subject of her ball, the Duchesse de Berry had also inadvertently suggested a synthetic, fetishistic link between the Bourbon monarchy and all that was associated with exploitation and brutality in Turkish leadership. Matched by contemporary paintings of exotic subjects, like those of Delacroix, in which orgiastic groups in North-African hammams lounge in dark secretive interiors, the Duchesse was playing with dangerous material. Typically in Delacroix's portrayals, intertwining limbs obscure the separateness of the individuals; they are sheep flocking together, fumbling and slumbering on the edge of reality, in claustrophobic and exhausted heaps, laden with their own narcissism, degradation and fear. The implied link between this culture and Marie-Caroline's *Bal turc* was, naturally, potentially damaging.

Vauxhall was one of Paris's ballrooms, but also a concert auditorium that was frequently used for benefit concerts such as that held on 28 November 1830 for the victims of July 1830, see Lesure and Fauquet, *Musique à Paris en 1830-1832*, p. 151.

[63] 'plus hautes société de réunir contre le gré du gouvernement' Stendhal, *Courrier anglais*, dated 20 May 1826 (pub. June 1826), vol. 3, p. 71. According to Stendhal, everybody at the concert was asking themselves '"What now remains for the Bourbons?"'. He deduced that 'if the Duchesse de Berry had appeared at that moment, she would simply have received applause, and the concert, which was epoch-defining, would not have had the air of an act of hostility against the reigning family' ['Que reste-t-il maintenant aux Bourbons? Si la Duchesse de Berry était apparue en ce moment, elle n'eût recueilli que des applaudissements et ce concert, qui fait époque, n'eût pas eu l'air d'un acte d'hostilité contre la famille régnante'], *Courrier anglais*, vol. 3, p. 74. Vigny noted a similar reticence on the part of the Bourbons to face up to public crises ('Not one prince appeared' ['Pas un prince n'a paru']), when he accused the Bourbons of being unwilling to protect the people during the July Revolution. See his *Journal d'un poète* (Paris: Calmann Lévy, 1882), p. 912 (29 July 1830).

[64] Stendhal, *Courrier anglais*, vol. 3, p. 71 (June 1826).

During the late 1820s in particular, the Duchesse de Berry's excessive indulgence in historical and oriental fantasy balls confirmed her intention to fly in the face of dignity. Her self-indulgence was linked to the Restoration's growing taste for narcissism, hedonism and fantasy, and it damaged public opinion of the monarchy. If the events of the ballroom were at the heart of corrupt aristocracy, then we can regard *La Cenerentola*, which revolves around the preparation for a ball, as an embodiment of that corruption. Since *La Cenerentola* portrayed the hedonism of an elite society comparable to that of Marie-Caroline de Berry, the presence of the opera on the Parisian stage hit an open wound of the Bourbons.

Rossini's musical corruption

To what extent can we interpret Rossini's music as a reflection of aristocratic corruption, and what did Rossini's contemporaries view to be the composer's contribution to sociological meaning of the opera? Certainly, Stendhal affirmed that *La Cenerentola* was the incarnation of social corruption. Although he expressed mixed opinions about the opera, he nevertheless went to see it several times. From a positive stance, he admired individual numbers such as the Act 1 duet ('Zitto, zitto') between Ramiro and Dandini for its 'brisk and impetuous style', which he described as 'the most characteristic feature of his [Rossini's] especial genius'.[65] From a negative stance, Stendhal had much more to say. Damningly indeed, he branded *La Cenerentola* as one of a recent 'nauseating harvest of *spicy entertainment*', and declared that performances of it left him 'cold and unmoved'.[66]

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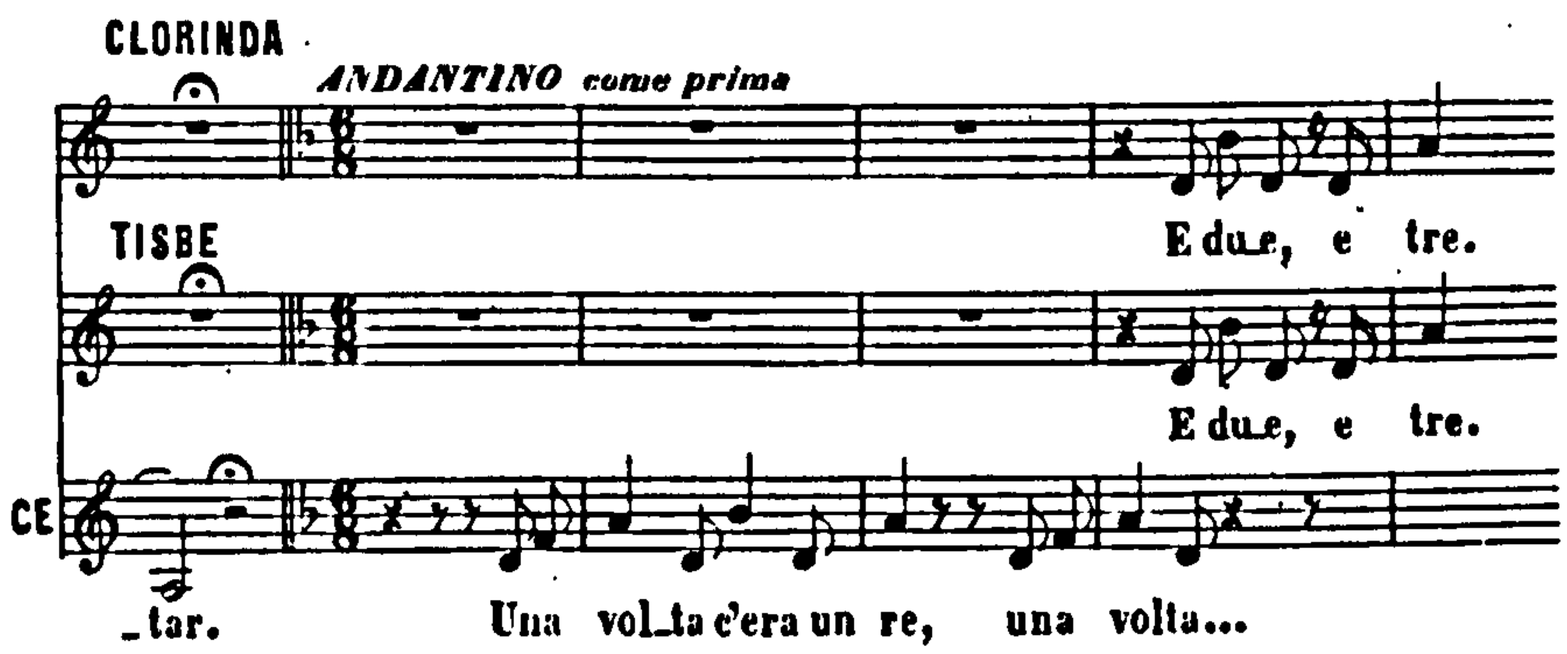
[65] Stendhal, *The Life of Rossini*, p. 259. Of the storm scene Stendhal wrote 'I have never witnessed a single performance [...] at which I did not feel spontaneously impelled to cry out: *Oh, the ingenuity of the thing!*' Stendhal, *The Life of Rossini*, p. 258. He admired the sextet tremendously: 'this sextet may well be justified in its claim to represent the musical climax of the whole opera' Stendhal, *The Life of Rossini*, p. 259.

[66] Stendhal, *The Life of Rossini*, p. 242. The gastronomic metaphors 'spicy entertainments' or even 'roulades' held sexual connotations that were related directly to Rossini's music. Was Stendhal revolted by the sensational gluttony of France's dispossessed aristocrats, or was he dissatisfied with Rossini's heroine and her developing taste for eel-like vocal roulades? Stendhal went on to write: 'Cimarosa would have preferred to show us the *passions* of his unsophisticated characters, rather than their social mannerisms, acquired as a direct result of contact with society at a particular level' Stendhal, *The Life of Rossini*, p. 247.

After Angelina's promising opening cavatina, in which the music is of an 'ethereal degree of featherlightness', Stendhal complained, 'at the words *Una volta, e due, e tre!* ('Once upon a time, twice upon a time, thrice upon a time'), with which the stepsisters mockingly interrupt Cenerentola's cavatina, the melody seems to me to degenerate into utter triviality.' (see Ex. 13).[67] Was Stendhal refusing to hear the truth? Surely this moment of characterful drama epitomises Rossini's style.

Ex. 13: Cenerentola, Clorinde, and Tisbe - 'e due, e tre'



'From this point onwards', Stendhal remonstrated, 'the music invariably afflicts me with a faint feeling of nausea; and this reaction, which is never entirely dissipated, recurs periodically throughout the opera, and with increasing violence.'[68] Stendhal, it seems, did not appreciate the irony behind the stepsisters' interruption, nor Rossini's skill in illustrating Cenerentola's emerging strength. The ensuing trio was, in fact, one of Rossini's superlative dramatic touches, defining the flavour of his satire, and giving us an insight into the strengths of his heroine. While the stepsisters interrupting Cenerentola's dreamy cavatina are like birds pecking at their prey, Cenerentola emerges with a soaring line that rises above their mockery (see Ex. 14).

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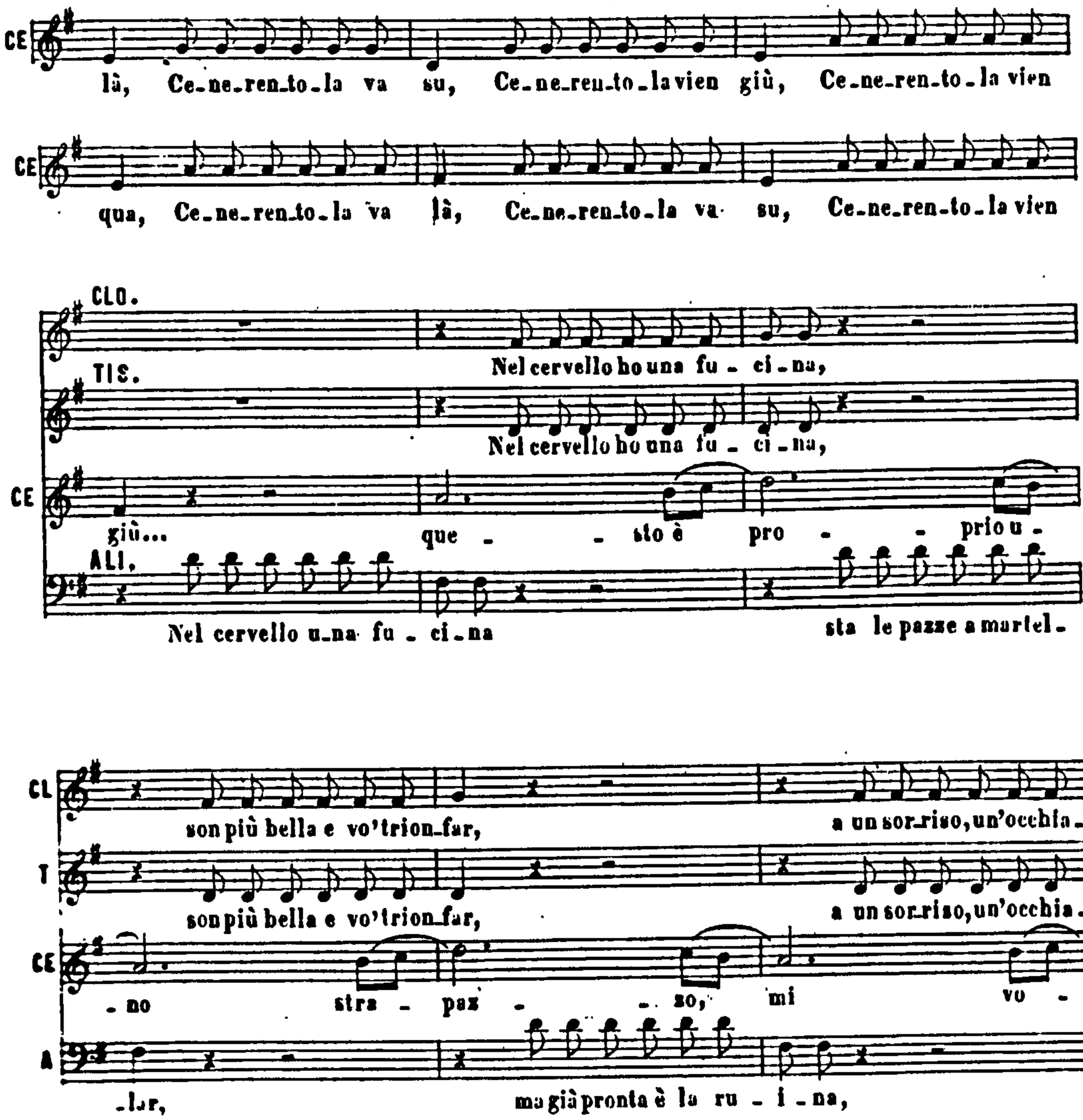
[67] Stendhal, *The Life of Rossini*, p. 243-244.

[68] Stendhal, *The Life of Rossini*, p. 243-244.

Ex. 14: Cenerentola - 'Cenerentola vien giù'



Nevertheless, Stendhal's critique continues in a negative vein. Instead of beauty, he heard in *La Cenerentola* 'excessive vulgarity'.[69] What horrified him most was the conceptual premise of the work which, he was concerned, lacked 'idealism':

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[69] Stendhal, *The Life of Rossini*, p. 247. He expanded his criticism with: 'I doubt whether there are really ten bars on end which wholly escape the taint of the sordid little shops in the *rue Saint Denis*

> In spite of the talented acting and the enthusiasm of the audiences [...] I was greatly disappointed with *La Cenerentola*. On the first occasion, I was convinced that I was unwell; subsequently, however, as performance after performance left me cold and unmoved, while the crowds around me cheered to the pitch of delirium, I was forced to admit that my dissatisfaction must have its roots in some permanent personal idiosyncrasy. The music of *La Cenerentola*, beautiful as it is, seems to me to be lacking in some essential quality of *idealism*.
>
> Many opera-lovers - perhaps the majority - are little concerned with the technical difficulties of the score; their delight lies in allowing the music to flow gently and caressingly over their imagination, there to conjure up whole castles of glittering and romantic fantasies. If the music is simply bad, the imagination remains lifeless and immobile; but if it is barren of *idealism*, there will be no lack of fantasies in the imagination, they will be harsh, prosaic and revolting, and the soul, repelled by such intrinsic vulgarity, will eventually seek its satisfaction elsewhere. Whenever I see *La Cenerentola* announced on the theatre-bills, I feel impelled to say, in the words of the Marquis de Moncade: "Tonight I shall rub shoulders with the *hoi polloi!*" The music clutches at my imagination and willy-nilly drags it down to its own level.[70]

Stendhal was horrified that 'far from striving to diminish the crude complexion of his material [Rossini] has if anything served to intensify it'.[71] What he failed to perceive, however, was that the opera's 'lack of idealism', and the work's 'crude complexion' were crucial to Rossini's parody of post-Empire European society.[72] Indeed, Stendhal's rejection of Rossini's score was closely related to his rejection of its audience, which he found in every

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> [one of Paris's red-light districts], or are uncontaminated by the odour of those money-grubbing, gutter-minded business-men who, when I meet them in society, send me scuttling out of the back door as soon as I see them coming in at the front. But these elements of vulgarity, which I find so inexpressibly distasteful, would, if only they had been reasonably well sung, have given Paris everything it ever asks for under the title of *comedy* [...]. One must therefore assume that the recent Parisian audiences somehow failed to notice the very features which seemed so inescapable to me; otherwise I cannot see how a public [...] can fail to have gone delirious with enthusiasm over *La Cenerentola*. In which case, the opera would have stood to benefit from a process of suffrage quite as complex as that of the double-vote system: it would have been borne in triumph upon two separate sets of shoulders, the ones belonging to those who adore Italian opera for its own sake, the others to those who habitually gorge themselves on the coarse vulgarity offered as a nightly attraction by the *Théâtre des Variétés*' Stendhal, *The Life of Rossini*, p. 261.

[70] Stendhal, *The Life of Rossini*, p. 240.

[71] Stendhal, *The Life of Rossini*, p. 247.

[72] Carl Dahlhaus believes that the unsophisticated raw material of Rossini's music is the basis of its stunning effect: 'his rhythms have a sharpness of focus that emphasizes the banal; his formal designs are guilelessly simplistic; his relentless and rigorous crescendos whip rudimentary themes into a cyclonic frenzy', Dahlhaus, *Nineteenth-Century Music*, p. 60.

way as offensive as the work. He heavy-heartedly identified within *La Cenerentola* all that was despicable about the deterioration of society and what he regarded as the 'petty hurts and pettier triumphs of *snobbishness*, among the titillating satisfactions of appearing at a ball in faultless evening dress, or of being nominated major-domo to some minor scion of royalty.[73] He continued:

> I am heartily sick of snobbishness and vanity, sick of its little victories and defeats, sick of the empty *braggadocio* [boasting] and and *gasconades* [bragging], sick of every one of the five or six hundred musical comedies dealing with the foiled expectations of snobs and braggarts which I have had to sit through in my career.[74]

With these comments Stendhal voiced the repulsion he felt towards the moral cesspit of aristocratic society, and recognised vanity to be the anti-hero of both the opera and of the society to which he feared it pandered. He located the social malaise behind the aristocracy's painful concession. Within Stendhal's comments was an awareness of the overbearing indolence of a Restoration society that, disappointed by events, was now guilty of wasting its potential:

> The triumphs of vanity are rooted in a process of contrast, in a series of comparisons, deft-fingered and drawn with lightning rapidity, between oneself and *other people*. Vanity is inconceivable without *other people*; and this factor alone is quite enough to paralyse the imaginative faculty, since true imagination cannot spread its mighty wings unless it be in solitude, and cut off from *other people* by a black barrier of oblivion. Therefore no art whose principal appeal is to the imagination should risk its chances by meddling with the portrait of vanity. [75]

Stendhal regarded vanity to be the inherent contagion that resulted from self-seeking social interaction. Vanity and society, therefore, he proposed, paralysed the creative imagination. Away from social interaction, the individual could employ a free and therefore creative mind, but in society, that same individual mingled anonymously with the flock,

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[73] Stendhal, *The Life of Rossini*, p. 241.

[74] Stendhal, *The Life of Rossini*, p. 241.

[75] Stendhal, *The Life of Rossini*, p. 242-3.

seduced by the security of numbers, locked into a hopeless utopian stasis that denied creative potential.[76] The phenomenon was one in which pleasure and pain were closely related.

Stendhal's criticism worked against Rossini, too: it implied that in spending his time on *La Cenerentola* Rossini had lavished good seed onto poor earth. By writing about and for 'the flock' Rossini had proven himself to be little better than a lost sheep. But Stendhal's criticisms could hardly be true of a work that laid bare society's weaknesses, and exposed its temptations with such tender frankness. Having failed to appreciate the opera as a critique of society, Stendhal was not able to embrace the parodic core of *La Cenerentola*. Thus he, like those he despised in the audience, had inadvertently made himself the butt of Rossini's joke against society.

While Stendhal had been revolted by the excesses of *La Cenerentola*, Théophile Gautier, writing over fifteen years after him, had nothing but praise for the performances of the opera that he witnessed during the late 1830s. Gautier saw the opera as a thrilling succession of sparkling jewels:

> It is an unstoppable flow, a treasure without end, an unrestrained prodigality plunging its arms up to the elbows in heaps of stones and throwing to chance fistfuls of diamonds and colourful gems.[77]

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[76] Society's urge to flock together is described by Heinrich Schenker: 'The masses [...] lack the soul of genius. They are not aware of the background, they have no feeling for the future. Their lives are merely an eternally disordered foreground, a continuous present without connection, unwinding chaotically in empty, animal fashion.' Heinrich Schenker, 'Organic Structure in Sonata Form', p. 51, in Maury Yeston, ed., *Readings in Schenker Analysis*, trans. Orin Grossman (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977), p. 38-53, quoted in Peter Van den Toorn, *Music, Politics and the Academy* (California: University of California Press, 1995), p. 84, fn. 21.

[77] 'C'est un flot intarissable, un trésor sans fond, une prodigalité effrénée plongeant ses bras jusqu'au coude dans des monceaux de pierreries et jetant au hasard des poignées de diamants et d'escarboucles.' Gautier, *Histoire de l'art*, vol. 1, p. 310 (4 November 1839). 'Escarboucles' is translated deliberately as 'colourful gems' rather than 'carbuncles', which has a negative connotation today. Gautier also regarded *La Cenerentola* to be: 'the happiest music, the most gay and the most easily charming that one can dream of [...] the motifs press upon one another, succeed one another; the phlegmatic bassoon himself chirps like a little creature or a little flute, the raucous ophicleide softens the biting sound of its brass gullet and coos the most delicate phrases' ['la musique la plus heureuse, la plus gaie et la plus aisément charmante qu'on puisse rêver [...] les motifs se pressent, se succèdent; le flegmatique basson lui-même gazouille comme une fauvette ou une petite flûte, la rauque ophicléide adoucit l'éclat mordant de son gosier d'airain et roucoule les phrases les plus délicates.

Gautier defended his fervour by pointing out what he perceived to be the superiority of the extrovert southern European styles above those of the introverted north. These differences were, he judged, the keys to understanding Rossini's music:

> Italy, despite her letting go, her banal facility, her repetitions, her tendency towards hollow improvisation, will be the queen of melody for a long time to come, as she has been for painting. Without a doubt, hard work [referring to German music] does a lot of good, but nature has her own price; thought is good, but passion has more value, above all in art. [...] it is a reinforcement of the human desire to overrate talent in order to belittle genius, because the former comes from patience and the latter from God.'
>
> Rossini too, whatever the complex and mysterious virtuosos may say, transcends the host of modern composers.
>
> Rossini is not a musician; he is music itself.[78]

Gautier could acknowledge the faults of Italian style, its repetitious banality and its hollow improvisation, but he was won over by its sheer liberation, and by the pleasures of its virtuosity. Stendhal, on the other hand, had described *La Cenerentola* as a brazen reflection of the vanities of the Italian mentality, and therefore as wasted potential. The two men clearly judged the opera on different paradigms.

It was, however, that very display, that embodiment of vanity expressed in Rossini's *La Cenerentola*, that represented most clearly the paradoxical resilience of the Parisian *Zeitgeist* in the early nineteenth century. The public's thirst for ebullience bore witness to the nation's post-traumatic mood, and the tide of peer pressure was strong. The coercive pressure of public taste was in the mind of at least one critic of the *Mercure du dix-neuvième siècle*:

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[78] 'L'Italie, malgré son laisser aller, sa facilité banale, ses répétitions, sa tendance à l'improvisation creuse, sera longtemps encore la reine de la mélodie comme elle l'a été de la peinture. Sans doute, le travail fait beaucoup, mais la nature a bien son prix; la pensée est bonne, mais la passion vaut mieux, surtout en art [...] c'est une consolation de l'envie humaine que de surfaire le talent pour déprécier le génie; car l'un vient de la patience et l'autre vient de Dieu.

Aussi Rossini, quoi qu'en puissent dire les virtuoses difficiles et mystérieux, dépasse-t-il de toute la tête la cohue des compositeurs modernes.

Rossini n'est pas musicien, il est la musique elle-même.' Gautier, *Histoire de l'art*, vol. 1, p. 310-311 (4 November 1839).

> In the theatre it [the public] wants precisely what it does not have; it wants witty eloquence, thus it has not developed. Take the century to task before you blame Rossini.[79]

If the critic meant to highlight the public's nostalgia for the glamour of the *ancien régime* ('what it does not have'), then Rossini's opera went some way to help relieving the pain of that loss, as well as illustrating the vices of the bereaved society. It was only by portraying society's pain alongside its pleasure that Rossini could truly hit his mark. This was a mark that defined the cultural form of the era, in that the Restoration's resilience to trauma was reflected in Rossini's music by the coexistence of the most blithe and the most serious.

Stendhal had rejected *La Cenerentola* because it portrayed the vanities of social interaction, and for those same reasons, Gautier had embraced it. Interestingly, neither Stendhal nor Gautier had expressed any awareness of *La Cenerentola*'s ironical content; they independently regarded the opera not so much as a parody of society's hedonistic desires, but as an embodiment of that society. Indeed, the score of the opera provided gluttony enough, with its extensive coloratura passages, its quick-fire humour, its wealth of ensemble writing and with Don Magnifico's heart-stopping patter songs, which embodied indulgence and greed.

Equally, much of the detail within Ferretti's libretto evoked the corrupt aristocratic vanity of the *ancien régime*. It predicted the return of that ethos by portraying ultra-royalists' reluctant acceptance of a more moderate *régime*. For example, when Angelina has been chosen as future queen, Don Magnifico offers her a painful and hypocritical bow. He calls her *altezza* (Your Highness) and promises to prostrate himself before her ('a voi si prostra').[80] This was exactly the type of hypocritical and fawning recapitulation that was made in real life in a comment by Charles X (then the Comte d'Artois) at a *bals d'enfants* held on 25 January 1829. Marie-Amélie de Bourbon reported that Charles ('Charmed by Clémentine d'Orléans in the costume of Louis XV') had approached his adversary Louis-Philippe d'Orléans with a witticism about a potential marriage between himself and the young lady.[81] Although this

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[79] 'Au théâtre il [le public], veut précisément ce qui manque; il veut de la verve; or la verve ne dévelopa pas. Faites donc le procès au siècle avant de le faire à Rossini' *Mercure du dix-neuvième siècle*, no. 16 (1827), p. 35.

[80] *Cenerentola*, Act 2, Finale.

[81] Marie-Amélie quoted, "If I were forty years younger I would ask for your daughter's hand in order to make her the queen of France" , ['charmé par Clémentine d'Orléans en costume Louis XV,

match would have been repugnant to Charles X privately, it would have been politically expedient.

In *La Cenerentola*, Angelina's advisor Alidoro refers to the dramatic reversal of fortunes within the drama as a 'bitter pill', a moral medication for those who are repulsed by the metamorphosis of Cenerentola from a servant into a princess:

Alidoro:	La pillola è oppresso [...]	Alidoro:	The pill is bitter [...]
	La pillola è un po' dura:		The pill is a little hard:
	Ma inghiottirla dovrà;		but you must swallow it;
	non v'è rimedio [...].		there is no antidote [...].
Tisbe:		Tisbe:	
	Mi accomodo alla sorte:		I will get used to it:
	Se mi umilio alla fin,		if I'm humiliated by the ending,
	non vado a morte.[82]		at least I won't die of it.

The 'unsavoury pill' was at the heart of *La Cenerentola* just as it was at the hearts of those of the Restoration nobility who were forced to compromise the privileges they had known during the *ancien régime*. Clorinda baulks at the 'bitter pill' she must swallow:

Clorinda:	Abbassarmi con lei! Son disperata!	Clorinda:	Lower myself with you! I am in despair!
	Sventurata! Mi credea		Unfortunate! I believed myself
	Comandar seduta in trono.		To be destined for the throne.
	Son lasciata in abbandono		I am left abandoned
	Senza un'ombra di pietà.[83]		Without a shadow of pity.

Charles X dit à Louis-Philippe [...] "J'aurais quarante ans de moins que je vous demanderais votre fille en mariage pour en faire la reine de France"' Marie-Amélie de Bourbon, *Journal de Marie-Amélie* (Paris: Perrin, 1981), p. 375, cited in Anne Martin-Fugier, *La Vie élégante, ou la formation du Tout-Paris 1815-1848* (Paris: Fayard, 1990), p. 127-8. This *bal d'enfants* was held at the Duchesse de Berry's residence on 25 January 1829.

[82] *Cenerentola*, Act 2, scene 9.

[83] *Cenerentola,* Act 2, scene 9. Clorinda's 'Abbassarmi' (meaning 'Lower myself') created a pun on the etiquette of bowing and on the humiliation of a social disgrace.

In the real world of the Bourbon Restoration, the stepsisters' words were echoed by a spirited *ex-priviligiée*: 'At last see, my dear friend, the sacrifices that are imposed upon us and how much they should exasperate!'[84]

The scene of reconciliation provides a stunning illustration of this. According to the description in the score, Cenerentola's enthronement was remarkably similar to a description of Marie-Caroline's *Quadrille Marie Stuart.* In *La Cenerentola* the directions were 'Salon with throne, Ramiro and Cenerentola dressed richly: to the left at their feet Dandini, and cavaliers surrounding them. In a corner Don Magnifico confused with eyes to the ground. Similarly, Alidoro, and Clorinda and Tisbe mortified.'[85] This fictional scene was realised for the Bourbons after 1830, when they were ousted by the July Revolution and Louis-Philippe d'Orléans became 'king of the French'. The medicine swallowed by the Bourbons had become less palatable still.

For both Marie-Caroline and Cenerentola, two women who were newly risen to the centre of attention, the experience of enthronement was very different. Angelina, for example, is barely able to restrain her excitement, and when Rossini ironically describes her egocentric exuberance with indulgent embellishments, a suspicion laid by Rossini earlier in the opera begins to take hold; Cenerentola is not the humble lightweight we may have expected her to be. Although her words are generous as she forgives her cruel family ('figlia, sorella, amica' ('daughter, sister, friend'), her vocalisation is cuttingly sarcastic. Her repetition in 'tutto, tutto, tutto, tutto, trovate in me' (you will find everything, everything, everything, everything in me) drives stridently towards an outburst of egotistical ecstasy at the narcissistic rising figure on 'in me', which she throws away like one of Gautier's 'fistfuls of diamonds' (see Ex. 15).

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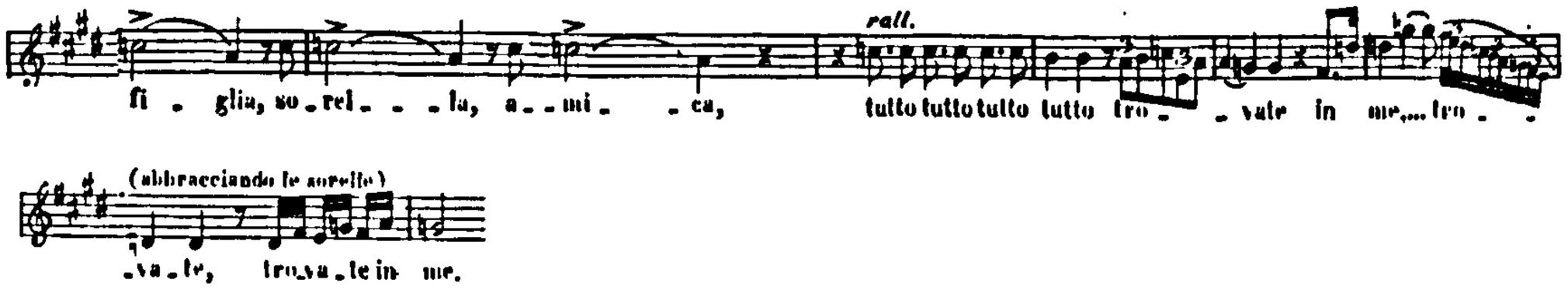
[84] 'Enfin, voyez, chère amie, les sacrifices qu'on nous impose et combien cela doit exaspérer!' Boigne, *Mémoires,* vol. 1, p. 602.

[85] 'Sala con trono, Ramiro e Cenerentola inabito rico: a destra in piedi Dandini, e Cavalieri intorno. In un angolo Don Magnifico confuso con gli occhi fitto in terra. Indi, Alidor, Clorinda et Tisbe mortificate.' see Rossini, *La Cenerentola, Edizione critica,* ed. Gossett, Act 2, Finale.

Ex. 15: Cenerentola - 'figlia, sorella ... tutto tutto ... in me'



In this music we hear an incarnation of the vanity that Stendhal had warned was overwhelming society. Here, too, was a portent of François Guizot's intuition that the Duchesse de Berry had become carried away by her own self-image: 'Princess, woman and mother, nothing but causes of illusion for her and for those dragging around with her![86] Indeed, it was above all in the character of the Duchesse de Berry that Restoration society could recognize Cenerentola's alter ego, and behind the pomp and circumstance of the duchess's existence in Paris, the indications were clearly there. Marie-Caroline, like Cenerentola, was also fascinatingly imperfect and, just as it is only in the final scene that Cenerentola's egotistical zeal emerges fully, it is only at the end of the Restoration that Marie-Caroline displays herself at her most indulgent.

Boigne's generosity about Marie-Caroline's physical attractions was, at best, selective. She was not duped by the duchess's personality, which she considered to be abominable. With limited intellectual resources and an unrestrained youthfulness, Marie-Caroline held court in a way that expended the minimum effort for the maximum reward:

> Madame la Duchesse de Berry arrived in France completely ignorant on every point. She barely knew how to read. They gave her tutors. She could have profited from them, because she had a natural spirit and a sensitivity towards the fine arts; but nobody talked reason to her, and although they tried to make her understand how to tinkle away at a piano or to scrawl on a piece of paper, on the other hand they hardly gave any thought to teaching her the rôle of a princess.
>
> Her husband amused himself with her as with a child, and took pleasure in

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[86] 'Princess, femme et mère, que de causes d'illusion pour elle et d'entraînement autour d'elle!' François Pierre Guillaume Guizot, *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de mon temps* (Paris: Laffont, 1971), p. 189.

> spoiling her. The king did not take serious care of her [...] Madame la Duchesse d'Angoulême, alone, would have been able to guide her, but she had a manner that was acerbic and dominating.
>
> Madame la Duchesse de Berry began by fearing her, and soon detested her [...]
>
> This was really a bad calculation for all of them, because the little princess had finally become as demanding as disagreeable. Her husband continually repeated that she should do nothing but amuse herself, and enjoyed encouraging her not to bother herself for anybody, and to flout what anybody said about her. Of all the lessons that one lavished on her, it was this one from which she most eagerly profited, and from which she barely separated herself.
>
> It was curious to see her hold court, giggling with her women, and addressing not a word to anybody.[87]

The contrasts between Adelaïde de de Boigne's descriptions of Marie-Caroline's physique and her personality are important: showing the duchess to be both attractive and abhorrent, Boigne had exposed the two-sided coin of her personality. Her description appears to contradict our portrait of Marie-Caroline as Cenerentola, in that it seems to describe Cinderella's stepsisters more convincingly than Cinderella herself. Yet, this is not the case. In the same way that Marie-Caroline's narcissistic nature was as evident as her physical vulnerability, Rossini's Cenerentola also showed two faces. She was not like other Cinderellas appearing in Paris during the Restoration. Although she sardonically bore herself aloof from her sisters' vain contest to become queen, scorning their attempts with 'They

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[87] 'Madame la Duchesse de Berry était arrivée en France complètement ignorante sur tout point. Elle savait à peine lire. On lui donna des maîtres. Elle aurait pu en profiter, car elle avait de l'esprit naturel et le sentiment des beaux-arts; mais personne ne lui parla raison, et, si on chercha à lui faire apprendre à écorcher un clavier ou à barbouiller une feuille de papier, on ne pensa guère en revanche, à lui enseigner son métier de princesse.

Son mari s'amusait d'elle comme d'un enfant et se plaisait à la gâter. Le Roi ne s'en occupait pas sérieusement [...] Madame la duchesse d'Angoulême, seule, aurait voulu la diriger, mais elle y mettait des formes acerbes et dominatrices.

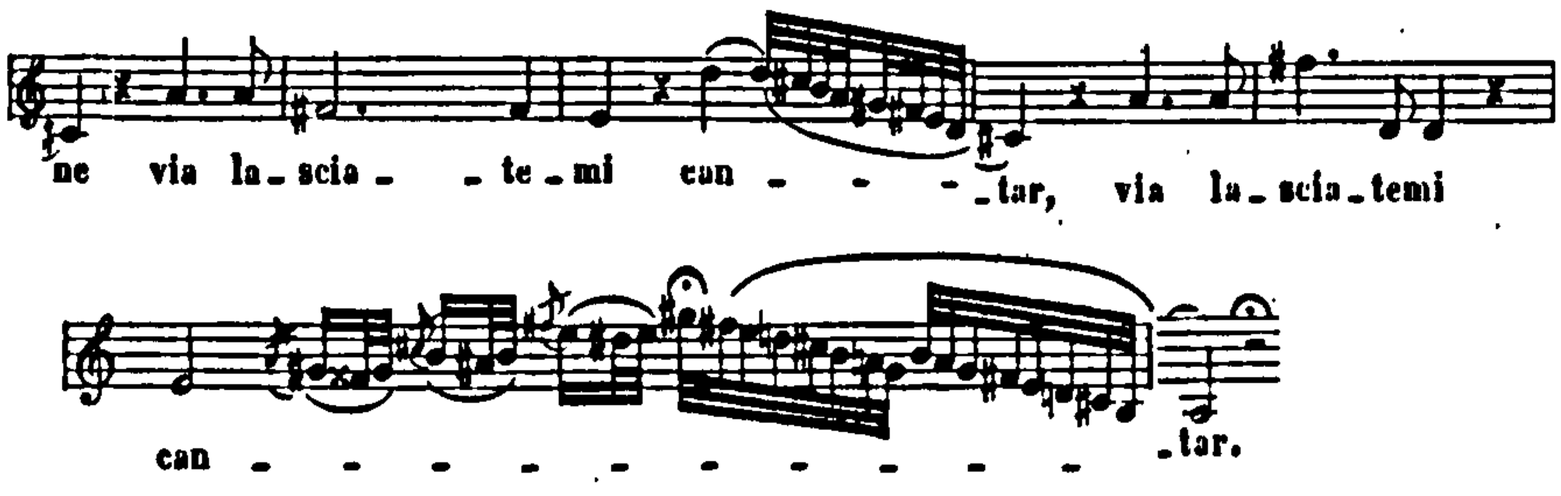
Madame la Duchesse de Berry commença par la craindre, et bientôt la détesta [...].

C'était un bien mauvais calcul pour tous deux, car la petite princesse avait fini par devenir aussi exigeante que maussade. Son mari lui répétait sans cesse qu'elle ne devait faire que ce qui l'amusait et lui plaisait, ne se gêner pour personne et se moquer de ce qu'on en dirait. De toutes les leçons qu'on lui prodiguait, c'était celle dont elle profitait le plus volontiers et dont elle ne s'est guère écartée.

Il était curieux de lui voir tenir sa Cour, ricanant avec ses dames et n'adressant la parole à personne.' Boigne, *Mémoires*, vol. 1, p. 621-2. The Duchesse d'Angoulême, daughter of Marie-Antoinette, was noted to be melancholic, austere and epicurean. She gave pious lectures, was prone to solitary meditation, and was nicknamed 'la nouvelle Antigone'], Vicomte de Reiset, *Marie-Caroline, Duchesse de Berry 1816-1830* (Paris: Calmann Lévy, 1906), p. 68-69.

deserve the crown' ('Elles méritent la couronne'), she was in fact constantly struggling against her own strong desires to go to Prince Ramiro's ball. Her surging coloratura for 'leave me to sing' ('lasciatemi cantare', Act 1, Introduction) expressed her capacity for indulgence (see Ex. 16):

Ex. 16: Cenerentola - 'via lasciatemi cantar'



Enthronement finale

For the Restoration, historical balls, which more often closely resembled historical theatrical productions, held less obvious associations with libertinism than did balls on exotic or eastern themes. Theatrical and dance elements of the 1820s became united in the series of luxurious historical and exotic costume balls that were to culminate in Marie-Caroline de Berry's *Quadrille Marie Stuart* on 2 March 1829.[88] As a result of the *Quadrille*'s drive for ostentation and display, according to Mme de Boigne, 'the carnival of 1829 was very brilliant' and 'Everyone that was young, elegant or very courtly, could enrol themselves in this troop for which marches, movements and dances were composed'.[89] The *Quadrille* was a huge

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[88] The dour Louis XVIII and the Angoulêmes 'wanted a quiet life' Mansel, *The Court of France,* p. 138. Marie-Caroline, on the other hand, was 'the ray of sunshine in this rather sad and severe court' ['Marie-Caroline était le rayon de soleil de cette cour un peu triste et sévère'], Reiset, *Marie-Caroline,* p. 68.

[89] 'le carnaval de 1829 fut très brillant' Boigne, *Mémoires,* vol. 2, p. 196. Boigne went on to examine the *Quadrille*'s historical theme: 'The taste for the Middle Ages began to develop. She [the Duchesse de Berry] conceived the idea of representing the court of François II. Everyone that was

undertaking that required exhausting preparation on the parts of those involved, and provoked an intense period of historical discussion among journalists.[90]

The evening of 2 March began with a choreographed pageant (the *Quadrille* itself), and ended with a ball at which the duchess danced until the early hours. Headed by fanfares from the *Garde du corps* a fully choreographed succession of costumed 'players' presented themselves in the prepared rooms at the Tuileries.[91] The *Echo fidèle* described the music of the *Quadrille*: 'The air on which the steps of these gracious dances are cadenced is a National Air, which dates from around four centuries ago. The originality of its harmony added to the fête'.[92] The operatic nature of the event, the historical music, the costumes, the props, the décor, the participants and dancers, amounted to a kaleidoscope of elements usually seen on the stage. Thus, in an extraordinary parallel to the display of mock homage between Tisbe and Clorinda in *La Cenerentola*, the aristocracy of the *Quadrille Marie Stuart* affected the modesty of courtly behaviour in their historical fantasy roles, and tapped into the vogue of historically-minded theatre.

The absence of a narrative thread in the Marie Stuart pageant connected it generically to some of the tableau-like *pièces de circonstance* from the early Restoration, which sought (without attention to dramatic development) to honour the present moment with a succession of historical images. Indeed, the lack of historical narrative in the *Quadrille* helped to place its characters more firmly in the present; they were 'brought to life' in a way that pandered to the symbolic desires of aristocrats whose blood-ties were traceable to the Renaissance, and

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Duchesse de Berry] conçut l'idée de représenter la cour de François II. Tout ce qui était jeune, élégant ou très courtisan, put s'enrôler dans cette troupe pour laquelle on composa des marches, des évolutions et des danses'], Boigne, *Mémoires,* vol. 2, p. 196.

[90] While some journalists believed the intention had been to recreate the marriage celebrations between François II and Mary Stuart, the *Echo fidèle* received information to the effect that it was set in the year 1559 or 1560, see *Echo fidèle* (5 March 1829). The *Quadrille*, which was considered by some sources to be in imitation of Louis XIV's famous carrousel in 1662, lasted until five o'clock in the morning, *Revue de Paris*, (1829), vol. 1, p. 250. The *Echo de Paris* of 5 March 1829 believed the *Quadrille* to have been set in 1559 or 1560, not during the reign of Henri II on the occasion of the Dauphin's marriage (as the *Revue de Paris* had claimed). In any case, the fact that Henri II was not portrayed in the pageant indicated that it was set after his death. The *dramatis personae* are summarised in Appendix 6.

[91] See Reiset, *Marie-Caroline*, p. 200, and *Echo fidèle* (2 March 1829). This journal had apparently acquired and published details of the programme before the event itself; on the 5 March its report was more critical.

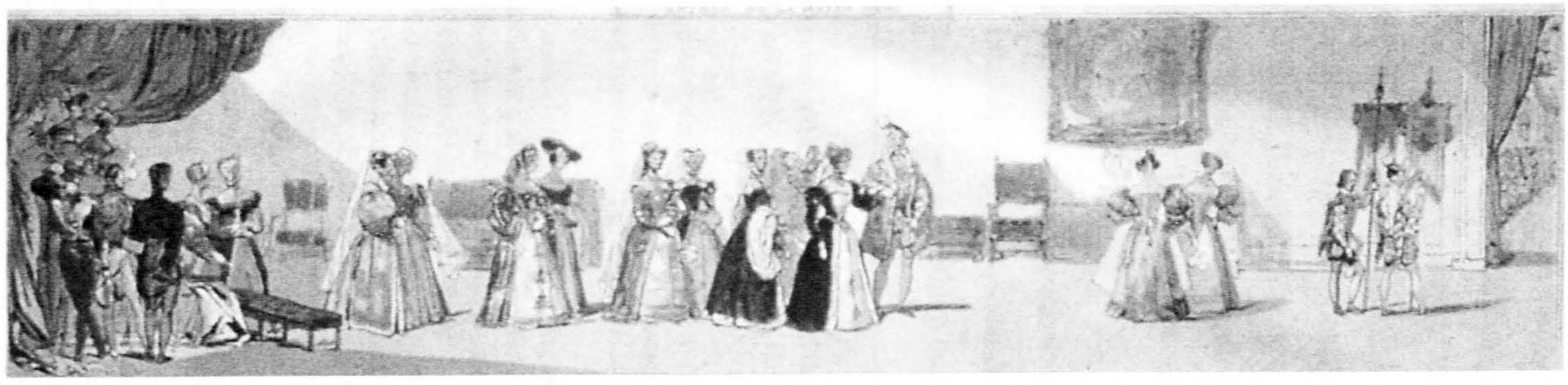

Plate 9: Entrée du roi et de la reine. Celle de la reine mère.

who wished to 'reincarnate' their ancestors. Thus, the *Quadrille* placed Marie-Caroline de Bourbon at centre-stage and on the throne of French consciousness, and not only did she receive homage as 'queen' of France, but some fifty aristocrats were effectively recipients of obsequious reverence for their own (now redundant) noble blood from selected members of the public, who were invited to attend as onlookers.[93] The cast list for the *Quadrille Marie Stuart* was published in various printed sources, offering an insight into the succession of 'families' involved in the pageant. Verisimilitude was respected in that the historical Scottish characters were played by members of the current Scottish nobility. Lami's triptych illustration of the event *Entreé du roi et de la reine. Celle de la reine mère* gives a clear impression of the scale of the operation (see Plate 9, and for a list of a list of the 'actors' see Appendix 6).[94]

As for most aristocratic balls, the expenditure on costumes for the *Quadrille* was eased by the availability of costumes from specialist hire shops. In addition to the abundance of replicas of historical costumes created for society balls, these shops stored clothing that came

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[92] 'L'air sur lequel les pas de ces gracieuses danseuses se cadençaient est un air national qui date de quatre cents ans environs. Il a ajouté, par l'originalité de son harmonie, au charme de la fête' *Echo fidèle* (2 March 1829).

[93] '[...] the remainder of the invited, in regular costumes, served as spectators. Monsieur le Duc de Chartres, representing François II drew all the looks' ['[...] le reste des invités, en costumes ordinaires, servait de spectateurs. Monsieur le Duc de Chartres, représentant François II, attirait tous les regards]' Boigne, *Mémoires*, vol. 2, p. 196-7.

Adelaïde de Boigne related a similarly voyeuristic experience during her exile in England (at a concert for the mother of the Prince Regent): 'The room, which was galleried, was divided by columns into three approximately equal sections. The middle section was exclusively occupied by the court, and the musicians were placed opposite the queen, the princess, and their women [...] all sitting. The rest of the gathering remained standing in the rear sections separated by the columns' ['La salle, en galerie, était partagée par des colonnes en trois parties à peu près égales. Celle du milieu se trouvait exclusivement occupée par la Cour et les musiciens placés vis-à-vis de la Reine, des princesses, de leur dames [...] assises. Tout le reste de la société se tenait dans les parties latérales, séparées par les colonnes, et restait debout'], Boigne, *Mémoires*, vol. 1, p. 550-1.

[94] Lami's lithograph is in Rosset, *Collection de Vinck*, vol. 5, no. 10239. The deference of the Duc de Chartres [son of Louis-Philippe d'Orléans] who had been chosen to play François II was widely reported to have been in appropriately good taste. 'The master of the ballet had had a throne prepared on which he [Chartres] should sit above the queen, represented by Madame la Duchesse de Berry. Monsieur le Duc de Chartres refused to occupy it, and placed there Madame de Podenas who was taking the role of Catherine de' Medici. This little incident enjoyed an unprecedented success at the Tuileries. Madame la Dauphine retold it smugly as a thing that was *of very good taste on the part of Chartres*' ['Le maître de ballet avait fait préparer un trône où il devait s'asseoir au-dessus de la reine, représentée par madame la Duchesse de Berry. Monsieur le Duc de Chartres refusa de l'occuper et y plaça madame de Podenas qui faisait le rôle de Cathérine de Médicis. Cette petite circonstance eut un succès inouï aux Tuileries. Madame la Dauphine la racontat complaisamment comme une chose *de très bon goût de la part de Chartres*'], Boigne, *Mémoires*, vol. 2, p. 197.

from theatrical productions, as well as original uniforms from the courts of the *ancien régime*.[95] Thus, extraordinarily, the ball-going aristocracy brought to the Restoration ballroom not only the clothes of well-known stage characters, but also those of their own forebears. The idea of parading the *Quadrille* around the streets of Paris in order that the general public could witness the role-playing of their social superiors, was one that had been realised during the court of Catherine de' Medici.[96]

The *Quadrille*'s immoderate pageantry struck a double parallel: it resonated against the ball scene of *La Cenerentola*, and against that opera's aristocratic audience at the Théâtre Italien. There the public was, like Gautier, captivated by the sights and sounds of a visual and aural feast as Rossini's characters paraded themselves at Prince Ramiro's ball.

Like Cenerentola, at Ramiro's ball, Marie-Caroline outshone the rest of the company at her *Quadrille*:

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[95] Apponyi described a preparatory trip to the costumers (chez Babin, costumier de la cour, rue de Richelieu) in 1833: 'The entire ball was to be found there, women, men, young and old; each, completely pre-occupied with choosing his costume, lost or found themselves again in the immense shop. Béranger and myself, knowing what we wanted, stopped in the marquis's room. There were marquis costumes of all shapes and sizes, in plain velvet or brocaded, in satin and in other materials, embroidered and not embroidered, in plain silk, in fine gold and fine silver, half-fine, real or imitation. There were marquis costumes that had served under Louis XV or shone in the salons of Marie-Antoinette or of la Pompadour' ['Tout le bal s'y trouvait réuni, femmes, hommes, jeunes ou vieux; chacun, tout occupé à choisir son costume, se perdait et se retrouvait dans cet immense magasin. Béranger et moi, sachant ce que nous voulions, nous nous sommes arrêtés dans la pièce des marquis. Il y en avait de toutes les formes et de toutes les grandeurs, en velours uni ou broché, en satin, puis en autres étoffes, brodés et non brodés, en soie unie, en or et argent fin, demi-fin, vrais ou faux. Il y en avait qui avaient servi sous Louis XV ou brillé dans les salons de Marie-Antoinette ou de la Pompadour'], Apponyi, *Vingt-cinq ans à Paris*, vol. 2, p. 238-9 (20 February 1833).

The Opéra exercised economy by re-using for Mme Pasta in *Tancrède* (1822) a costume created for *Blanche de Provence* (1821). The same process was followed with costumes from *Roméo et Juliette* which reappeared in *Les Danaïdes*, see Wild, *Décors et Costumes du XIXe siècle*, p. 92.

[96] Albert, *L'Art de danser*, p. 11.

> S. A. R. Madame, beneath the diadem of Marie Stuart, conserved that air of affability, that noble grace, that amiability which won the hearts of all for her. The treasures of Golconda shone all around her, one noticed them with difficulty; the fieriness of her diamonds was eclipsed by the charm of her smile.[97]

During a galop ('danse vive et pétulante') at the ball that succeeded the *Quadrille* on the first night, the duchess's string of diamonds, which was worth some 500,000 FF, fell from her waist and was lost: the fact of their loss reportedly barely upset her.[98] While Cinderella's famous lost slipper represented purity and desirability, Marie-Caroline's lost string of diamonds betrayed her taste for ostentation, her vanity and her corruption. Far from losing the jewels as she fled from the ball to preserve her self-respect before midnight (in the manner of Cinderella), she had lost them during the early hours of the morning in a whirl of indulgence.[99] We are reminded of Gautier's comments about the music of *La Cenerentola* 'throwing away to chance fistfuls of diamonds and colourful gems', and again of Mendelssohn's accusations about the rifeness of 'corruptness, and avarice' in Parisian high society . If the diamonds symbolised the nation's financial and emotional investment in

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[97] 'S. A. R. Madame, sous le diadême de Marie Stuart, a conservé cet air affablé, cette grace noble, cette aménité qui lui gagne tous les coeurs. Les trésors de Golconde brillaient dans ses autours, on les remarquait à peine; le feu de ses diamans était éclipsé par le charme de son sourire.' *Echo* (2 March 1829). Golconda, a ruined city in India whose mine was once famous for its diamonds, refers figuratively to extreme wealth.

[98] 'Dancing the *galoppe*, a lively and exuberant dance, MADAME lost a string of diamonds from her belt, for which the value amounted to around five-hundred thousand francs; but she took little care over the matter, and continued to do the honours of her fête with an inimitable grace' ['en dansant la *galoppe*, danse vive et pétulante, MADAME perdit une frange de diamans de sa ceinture, dont le prix pouvait s'élever à environ 500,000 francs; mais elle n'en prit que peu de souci, et continua de faire les honneurs de sa fête avec une grâce inimitable.'], *Revue de Paris* (1829), vol. 1, p. 249. The diamonds were, as it turned out, retrieved the following day.

[99] During the early nineteenth century, the *galoppe* was frowned upon by the sterner moral minds of French society. Marie-Caroline, on the other hand, enjoyed the *galoppe* enormously, as was witnessed by Apponyi on Ash Wednesday in 1827: 'The ball at the Tuileries was delicious, and did not finish until around six o'clock. Mme la Duchesse de Berry ordered me to lead a galop; this dance had so much success that the princess demanded a repetition with the figures of the cotillon. One waltzed a great deal, one dansed *La Boulangère, Le Grand-père* et *La Galoppade*; then an *Ecossaise, Le Carillon de Dunkerque* and finally *Le Cotillon*. Mme la Duchesse de Berry was of an extraordinary gaiety' [Le bal aux Tuileries a été délicieux et n'a fini qu'à environ six heures. Mme la Duchesse de Berry m'a ordonné de diriger une galoppe; cette danse a eu tant de succès, que la princesse a fait demander une répétition avec des figures de cotillon. On a beaucoup valsé, on a dansé *la Boulangère, le Grand-père* et *la Galoppade*; puis une *Ecossaise, le Carillon de Dunkerque* et enfin le cotillon. Mme la Duchesse de Berry a été d'un gaîté extraordinaire'], Apponyi, *Vingt ans à Paris* (March 1827), vol. 1, p. 50-51.

Marie-Caroline as a leader, their loss signified a weakening of her control over that leadership. In any case, by staying up into the early hours, and by joining in the *galop,* the duchess may well have reinforced doubts in those around her about her reliability as an ambassador for the crown.

Marie-Caroline's chameleon-like ability to switch her public image between innocent young woman and egotistical and irresponsible leader was disturbing. The warning signs had been evident from early in the Restoration. In June 1816, for example, the Comte de Castellane had been shocked by the duchess's 'off-stage' decorum: 'I escorted her with my hussars, and I had the time during the journey to assure myself of her disgrace. She had a filthy mouth'.[100] Towards the late 1820s, Marie-Caroline gained a reputation for being antagonistically commandeering. She gained a reputation for getting up to mischief at her balls: she even went as far as humiliating some guests into staying against their will.[101] Neither was she perfect model at her *Quadrille Marie Stuart*: Mme de Boigne's description of the Duchesse de Berry's ostentatious appearance there was far from flattering:

> Madame la Duchesse de Berry, she was abominable. She had had her hair ruffled up on top, perhaps very classical, but suiting her terribly badly, and she was decked out in a long ermine coat with the fur on the outside, which gave her the air of a drowned dog. The warmth of this costume had reddened her face, her neck and her shoulders, which were usually very white; never had anybody taken more care to succeed more happily in making oneself look terrible.[102]

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[100] 'Je l'escortai avec mes housards et j'eus le temps, pendant la route de m'assurer de sa disgrâce. Elle avait une vilaine bouche' Boniface Castellane, *Journal de* [...] *Castellane*, 5 vols (Paris: Plon, 1895), vol. 1, p. 319.

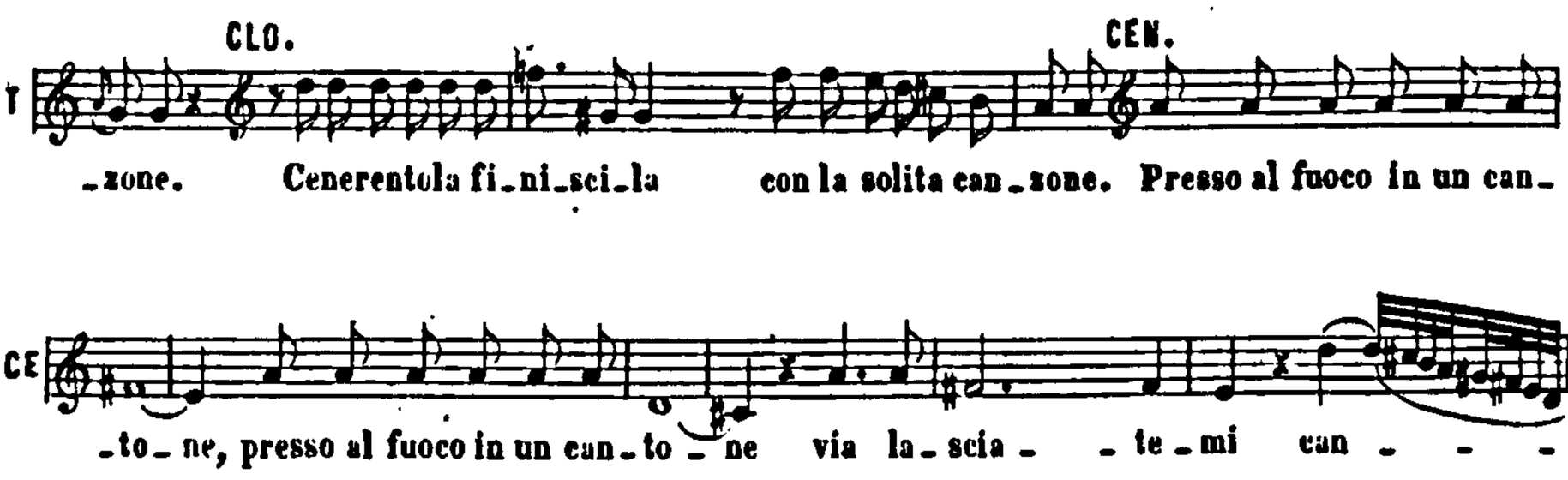
[101] At a ball held by the Duchesse de Berry (which lasted from 8:30 p. m. until 4:00 a. m.) many attendees were reluctant to stay; some tried to sneak away [se sauver'] before dinner. Marie-Caroline being aware of their attempts took great pleasure in blocking their exit routes, and it was all very amusing (see Apponyi, *Vingt ans à Paris* (20 January 1827) vol. 1, p. 41-42.

[102] Madame la duchesse de Berry, elle était abominable. Elle s'était fait arranger les cheveux d'un ébouriffage, peut-être très classique, mais horriblement mal seyant, et s'était affublée d'une longue veste d'hermine avec le poil en dessus, qui lui donnait l'air d'un chien noyé. La chaleur de ce costume lui avait rougi la figure, le col et les épaules, qui ordinairement étaient très blancs, et jamais on n'a pris des soins plus heureusement réussis pour se rendre effroyable.' Boigne, *Mémoires*, vol. 2 p. 198.

By overstepping the parameters that were prescribed for the *reine du bal* (queen of the ball), the duchess was inadvertently touching on two peculiarities of Rossini's heroine: her hidden ego and her unpredictability.

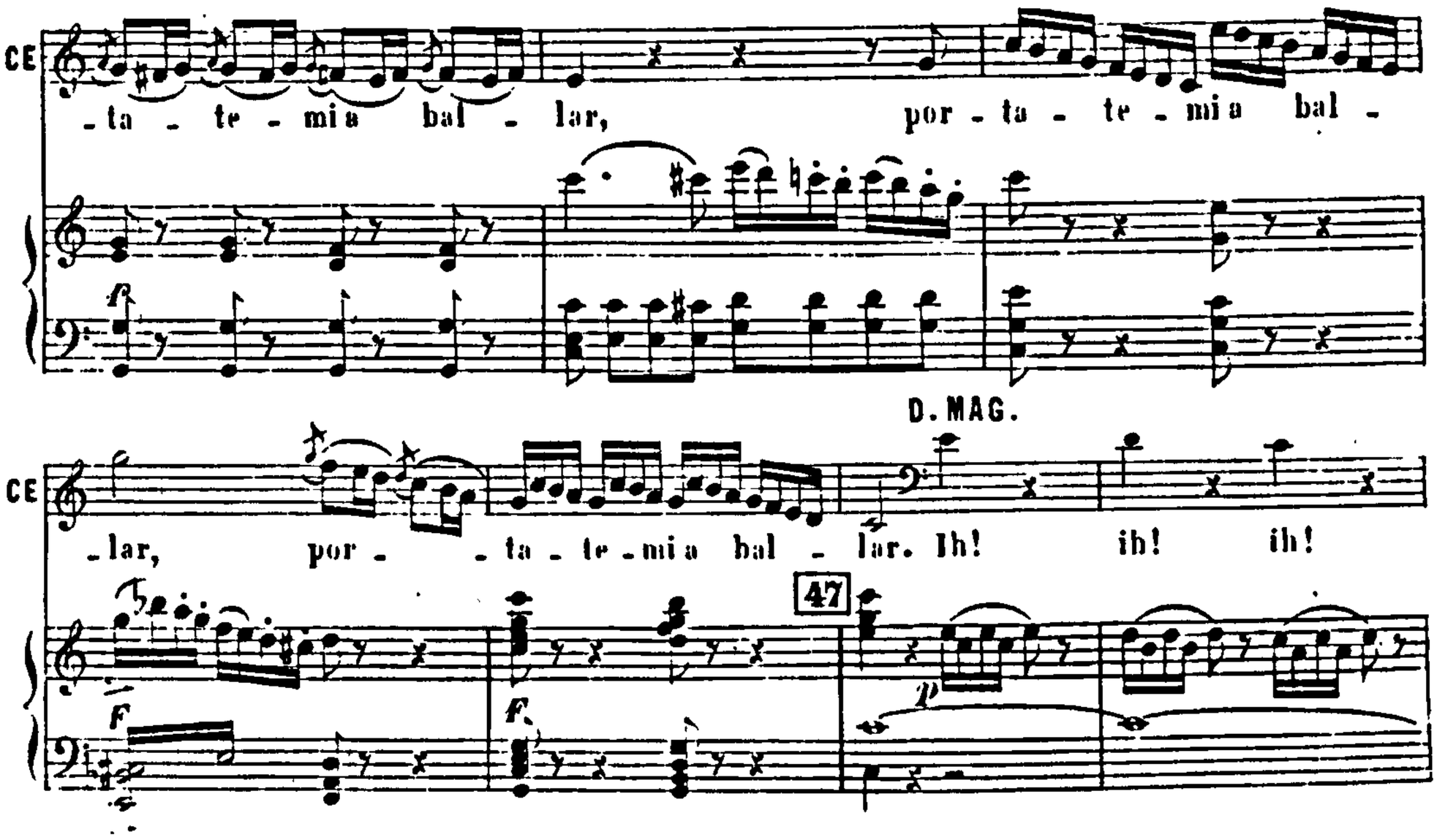
The parallel between Marie-Caroline's behaviour and that of Cenerentola is certainly striking. Although Cenerentola at first appeared to be modest, her moral sensibility was ultimately based on principles of self-love. Rossini's music had hinted from the outset of the opera at Cenerentola's barely suppressed frustrations, her awareness of her moral superiority and at the stepsisters' mistrust of her impudence. In the introduction to Act 1, she imitates her stepsisters' bullying in a manner that is as much snide as worldly wise (see Ex. 17):

Ex. 17: Cenerentola - 'Presso al fuoco in un cantone'.



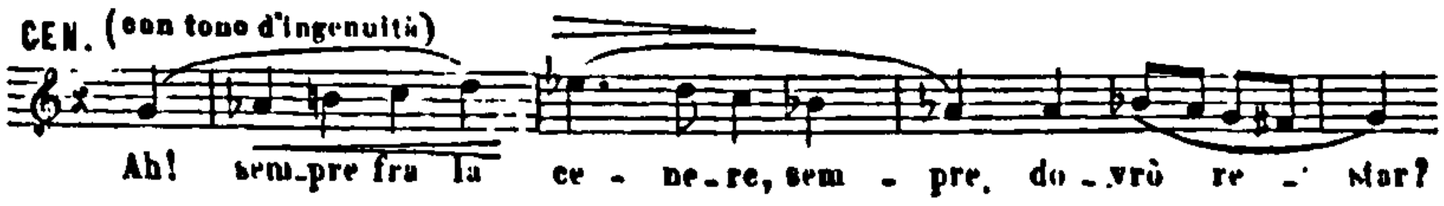
There are several portents of the explosive personality Cenerentola hides. Soon after her expression of humbleness in her opening cavatina, she battles against her stepsisters in their quartet with Alidoro (Act 1, Introduction). At the opening of the quintet, she rallies her wiles against four men (Act 1, scene 6). Within a few pages of music, contrasting musical nuances demonstrate the powerful manipulative skill with which Cenerentola attempts to convince Don Magnifico to take her to the ball. She is commanding with 'Signor, una parola, una parola' ('Sir, one word, one word'), coquettish with 'un' ora, un ora....sola, portate mi a ballar' ('take me dancing for one hour, just one hour') (see Ex. 18):

Ex. 18: Cenerentola - Portatemi a ballar



Her music is stealthy with 'Ah! Sempre fra la cenere, sempre dovrò restar?' ('Ah! always in the cinders, where should I rest'), despite Rossini's specification 'with an artless tone' ('con tono d'ingenuità'). This contradiction between 'what is said' and 'how it is said' is at the crux of this musical interpretation of Cenerentola. In slow crotchets she adopts the pathos of a tragic heroine, while the seductive g minor chromaticism provides a musical irony that rings disingenuously in their context (see Ex. 19):

Ex. 19: Cenerentola: 'Ah! Sempre fra la cenere'



With 'Signori; persuadetelo' (Sir, be persuaded') Cenerentola's voice winds obsequiously around appoggiaturas, ending forcefully with accents on the three syllables of '-detelo' like jabs of a poking finger. Her indisputably manipulative 'portatemi a ballar' is more impetuously ornamented with each appearance. Magnifico's dumbfounding interruption ('Ih! ih! ih! ih!') destroys the run of glorious coloratura with supreme alacrity.

Cenerentola is crushed, only uttering pathetically 'Ma una mezz'ora, un quarto...' ('Even a half hour, a quarter...'). The audience is, in Dahlhaus's terms, watching the puppet show with full consciousness of the composer's deft dramatic style.[103]

Within the space of a few pages Rossini's heroine has tried several different approaches to induce her father to take her to the ball, from obsequious feminine wiles to mystic seduction. In her manipulative tirade, we witness the early signs that Angelina is no more a 'Little Angel' than the Duchesse de Berry is 'Madame de Saint-Ange'.

This point is made apparent as Cenerentola arrives at Ramiro's ball. If this moment marks a crucial moment of realisation for those present, for Cenerentola it represents a long-desired release into freedom. Her opening declaration (saturated in coloratura) radiates exhilaration and self-satisfaction that is on a par with the ostentation of the Duchesse de Berry's ball. With this expressive coloratura, our attention is directed to Cenerentola's barely suppressed ego, and we are warned of her later extravagant emotional outbursts (see Ex. 20).

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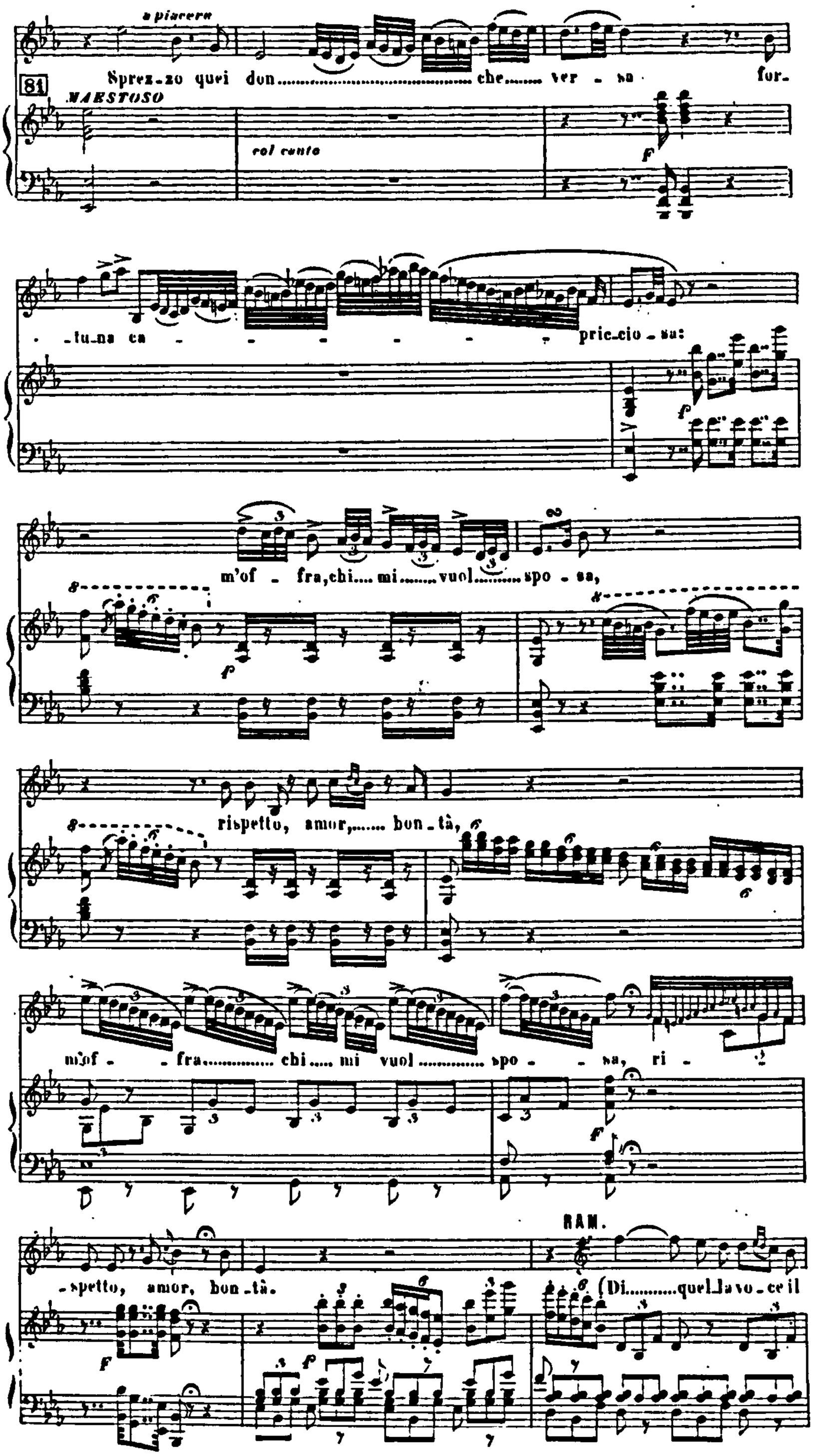
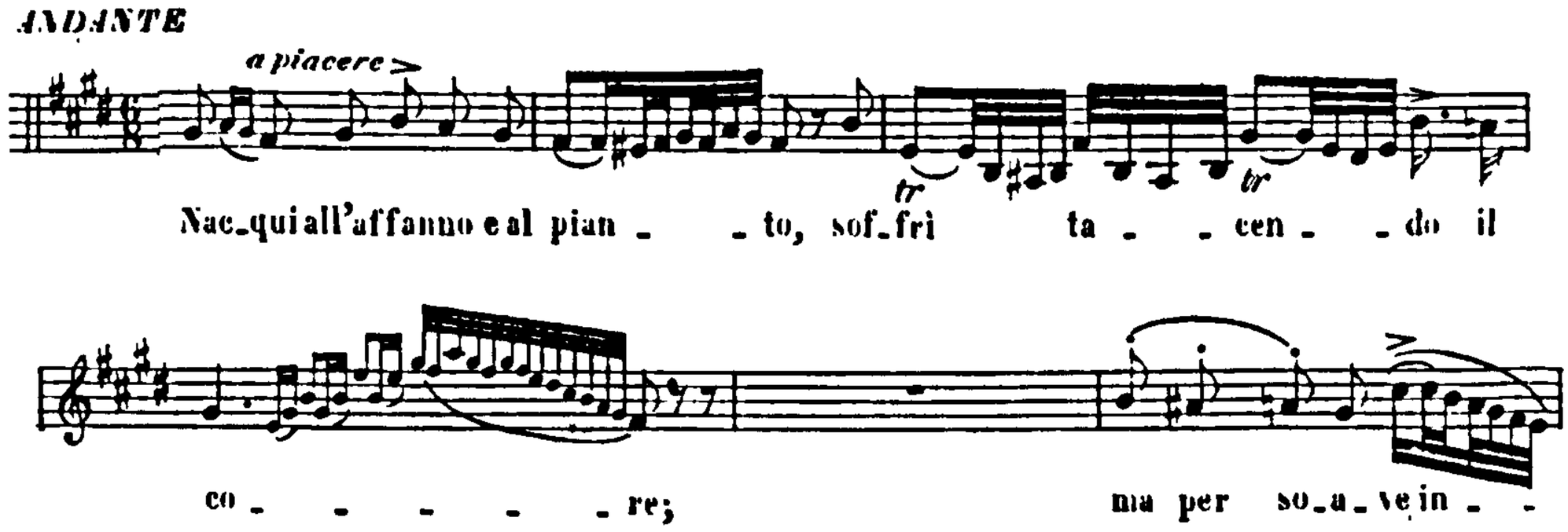
[103] 'In Rossini the extremes meet: the farcical takes on catastrophic proportions in the frenzy of the music; the tragic, in its moments of greatest despair, exposes the marionette strings from which the characters are dangling.' Dahlhaus, *Nineteenth-Century Music*, p. 64.

Ex. 20: Cenerenotola - 'Sprezzo quei don che versa fortuna capricciosa'.



The extravagance of Cenerentola's final rondo aria 'Nacqui nel'affanno' ('Born into ashes and poverty'), which leads into 'Non più mesta...' ('No more sitting alone'), nevertheless comes as a seismic shock (see Ex. 21).

Ex. 21: Cenerentola - 'Nacqui all'affanno'



Certainly Cenerentola's vocal coloratura expresses a euphoria and a narcissism that are worlds apart from the staid prettiness expressed in Isouard's earlier interpretation.[104] The aria's excessive coloratura forcefully obliterates any memory of her former meekness. Cenerentola elaborates extravagantly the words that exemplify her psychological state: 'incanto' ('spellbound'), 'fiore' 'flower'), and 'baleno' ('flash'). Her emotions spill out in flailing ribbons of music (Gautier's 'unstoppable flow', his 'unrestrained prodigality' and his 'fistfuls of diamonds'). In this aria, Rossini achieves Angelina's transformation through a patchy conglomeration of ecstatic cries, not with statuesque and noble statements. Having seized her moment in the final act, she can now lower her mask.

Rossini paints Cenerentola's new-found authority onto 'Non più mesta accanto al fuoco starò sola a gorgheggiar, no!' ('No longer will I sit alone a-sobbing sadly near the fireplace, no'). While the buoyant and rhythmic melody is akin to that of military victory

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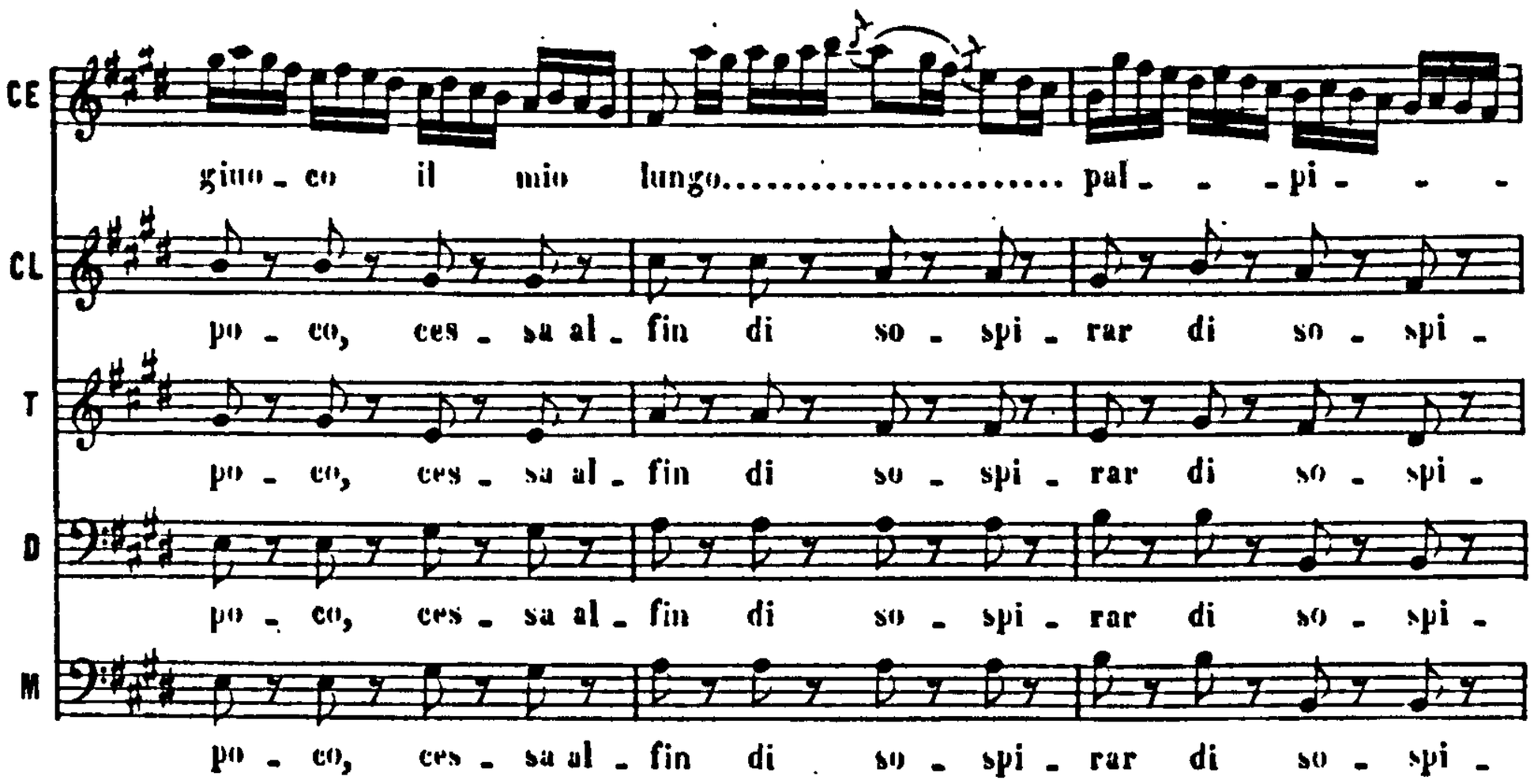
[104] Certainly the traditionally ironic nature of the *opera buffa* genre set Rossini's *La Cenerentola* apart from Isouard's *opéra-comique*, *Le Cendrillon*. Isouard had endowed his stepsisters with strong personalities, and flambuoyant coloratura that reflected their caustic temperaments. Cendrillon's role relied on comparably staid *romances* to convey her moral virtue. Unlike the tempestuous

music (motivically similar to Mozart's Wedding March in *Le Nozze*), Cenerentola's 'no' is striking in its vehemence, falling defiantly on the second beat of the bar (see Ex. 22).

Ex. 22: Cenerentola - 'Non più mesta [...] a gorgheggiar, no!'

At 'lungo' and 'palpitar', her consuming ornamentation illustrates the intensity of her ecstasy (see Ex. 23).[105]

Ex. 23: Cenerentola - 'lungo palpitar'

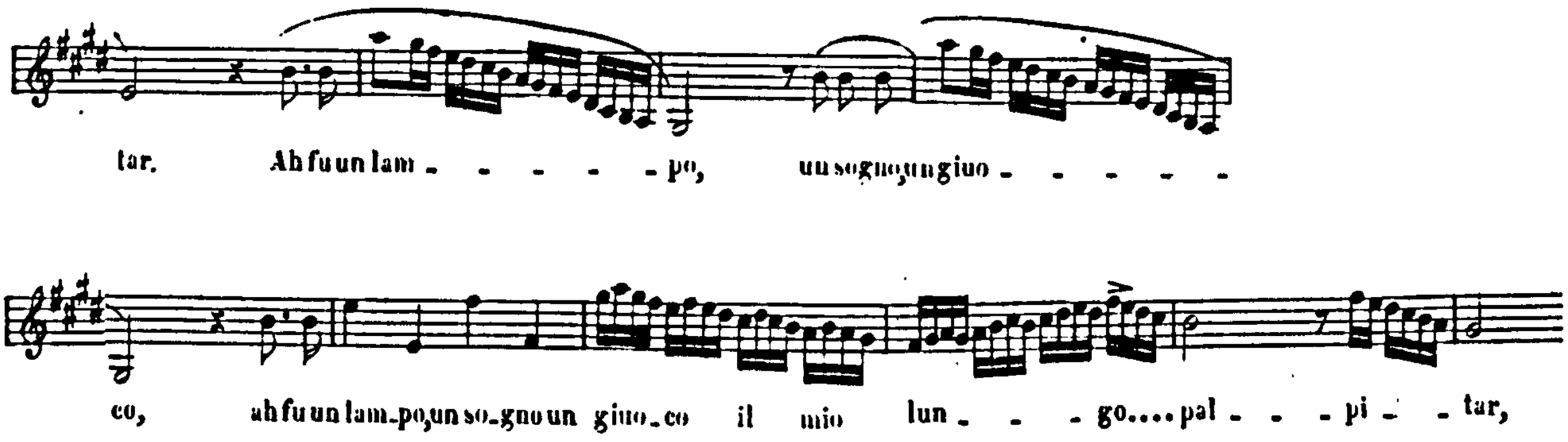


Rondo Finale of Rossini's Cenerentola, Isouard's Cinderella ends with a touching three-stanza *romance*. See Michael Fend, 'Nicolas Isouard', *New Grove Dictionary*, 2nd edition.

[105] It is not surprising that 'Non più mesta' was the subject of, among others, Paganini's variations for violin, and those by Chopin for flute.

With 'Ah, fu un lampo, un sogno, un gioco' her declamation resembles dementia, revealing an abandon that covers several pages (see Ex. 24).[106]

Ex. 24: Cenerentola - 'Ah, fu un lampo'



Angelina has no intention of remaining alone, and her refusal to accept her unwanted isolation contrasts startlingly with her placid opening cavatina 'Once upon a time there was a king who was tired of being alone'. While the technical difficulties of this aria are formidable (Weinstock describes it as 'pyrotechnical'), in the context of Cenerentola's transformation the

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[106] As both a confirmed mezzo-soprano, and the first Cenerentola, Righetti-Giorgi objected strongly to the fact that the first Cenerentola in Paris (Emilia Bonini) was a soprano: 'I do not know whether or not Signora Bonini succeeded or not in satisfying the Parisian public with this difficult part. It is certain that Cenerentola was not composed for soprano, and yet sopranos sing it, twisting everything more or less badly, if not offensively, in the Coloratura of the Lampo. Cenerentola cannot be sung with complete success unless it is sung by a singer who possesses a completely equal, agile and flexible, extension of 18 notes. I do not advise those who do not have this natural gift to sing the part of Cenerentola in the context of the wishes of Rossini' ['Io non sò, se la Signora Bonini riesca o nò a soddisfare il Pubblico di Parigi con questa difficile parte. Egli è certo che la *Cenerentola* non fu composta per Soprano, e i Soprani la cantano, tutti ripiegando, qual più, qual meno male se non altro alla Volata del *Lampo*. Cenerentola non può essere cantata con pieno successo che da una persona, che posseda un'estensione tutta uguale, agile, e pieghevole di 18 Corde. Chi non ebbe dalla natura questo dono non avvisi di cantare la parte di *Cenerentola* giusta la mente di Rossini.'], see Rossini, *La Cenerentola, Edizione critica*, ed. Gossett, vol. 1, 'Prefazione: Notizie storiche', p. XXXIX, and Righetti-Giorgi, *Cenni di una donna*, p. 38-39. Gossett points out here that in old French editions of the opera the Cenerentola role was adapted to suit the soprano tessitura – see the elaborations (thought to be sung by Emilia Bonini) provided in the accompanying *Commento critico* volume of Gossett's edition, p. 179-182,. Other elaborations are given in Gossett's vol. 2, *Note Critiche*, p. 1068-1069.

coloratura flows with an oppressive, even despotic, fervour.[107] Like a cat teasing its prey, Cenerentola is beginning to celebrate her gains.

Referring to this aria, one critic from the *Journal des débats* was disappointed that as far as Cenerentola's characterisation was concerned, Rossini had left the best till last: '[There are] also numerous faults: the piece is languishing and boring, there is much too much music, and that music is often badly placed [...]. *Cenerentola* doesn't prove to us until the last scene that she is truly a *prima donna*, and even then only in the final *morceau*'.[108] If with 'badly placed' the journalist was referring to the peculiarly asymmetrical distribution of Cenerentola's musical material, then he, like Stendhal and Gautier, had failed to perceive the irony of Rossini's setting.

If we interpret Angelina as a complex and ambiguous character, as a woman in post-traumatic shock, then, in fact, Rossini's timing was impeccable. While Cenerentola's emergence from a state of exile (albeit domestic) paralleled the return from obscurity of the Bourbon family and the return of high-ranking French *emigrés*, the opera offered important metaphors. In the light of these broader implications, Cenerentola's character can be proposed as a paradigm for the ambivalent position of the Parisian aristocracy during the 1820s and early 1830s. The Rondo Finale's ethos of release provides a particularly striking metaphor for this ambivalence and the need for escapism. Rossini's social parody takes to task a group of people who, like Cenerentola, might have been forgiven for thinking they had just recovered the jewels of a lost era.

The recovery ethos was typified in the behaviour of Marie-Caroline who, having been been reportedly overwhelmed by the offer of a royal husband, had gladly accepted the honour and embraced the consequences. As one who had once been promised the throne, Marie-Caroline had felt her isolation and ineffectuality keenly after the death of her husband. She had, however, taken no time to establish herself at the forefront of Bourbon family life and, as her period of mourning wore off during the second half of the Restoration, she had, as we have seen, like Cenerentola vocalising her liberation, danced energetically, even exuberantly, far beyond the call of duty.

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[107] Weinstock, *Rossini*, p. 71.

[108] 'aussi de nombreux défauts: la pièce est languissante et ennuyeuse, il a beaucoup trop de musique, et cet musique est souvent mal placée [...]. *Cenerentola* ne nous prouve qu'à la dernière scène, et dans le morceau final, qu'elle est réellement *prima donna*' *Journal des débats* (10 June 1822).

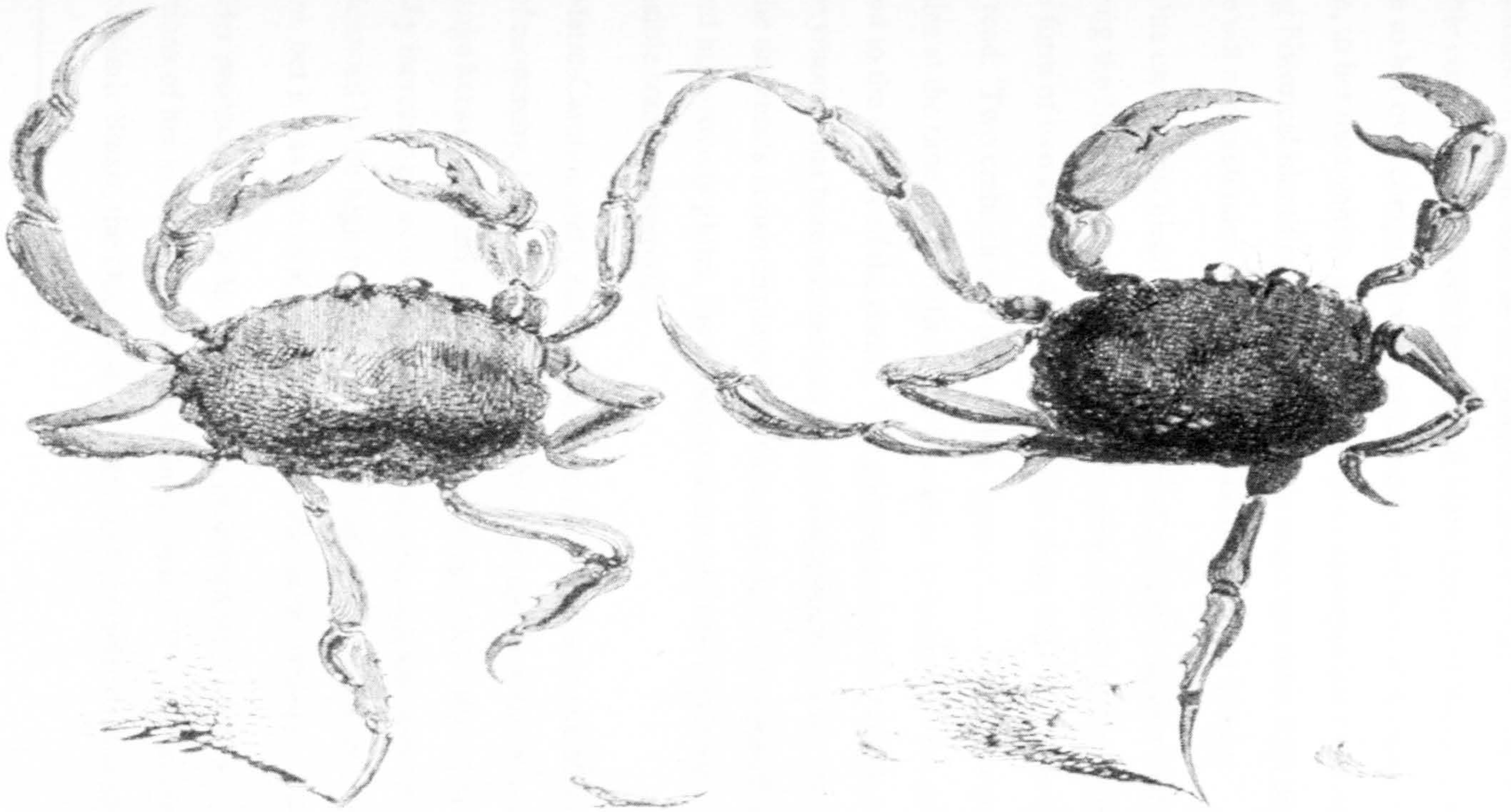

Plate 10: Danse fantastique.

Both Cenerentola and Marie-Caroline can be said to have represented cuckoos in Paris's theatrical nest. Like Cenerentola, the lavish theatricality with which Marie-Caroline presented herself distorted her status as a role model for society. While Marie-Caroline's self-promotion in events such as the *Quadrille Marie Stuart* was designed to suggest a favourable comparison between herself and Mary Queen of Scots, it inadvertently drew attention to her own comparative constitutional weakness and, using Stendhal's derisive rationale, to her own vanity. Her very attempt to underpin her royal status by adopting flattering historical identities, and her failure to enact her roles with dignity, marked Marie-Caroline out as a pretender, and overshadowed her place in history.

One caricaturist clearly regarded Marie-Caroline's fantasy balls as instrumental in weakening the Bourbon monarchy. His caricature, depicting the duchess's fetish for dancing, took the form of two gawky, dancing crabs (see Plate 10).[109] Entitled *Danse fantastique*, the subtext read: 'Two crabs sketch out a dance figure [...]. This drawing was blacklisted by the authorities at the time of the balls of the Duchesse de Berry, on the grounds that it represented an affront to the dignity of the court'. The grotesque delicacy of the caricature created a visual oxymoron that bore witness to a wider dissatisfaction with the duchess's behaviour. While the duchess's lavish displays (like Cenerentola's self-congratulatory coloratura) promoted high-society glitter, the effects undermined any hopes that the Bourbons could offer any sensible social compromise.

Marie-Caroline and Cenerentola, then, each presented tantalising glimpses of utopian ideals of monarchy, but also reminders of the institution's inherent anachronisms. The easy interchange between theatrical and non-theatrical spectacle blurred the definition of the monarchy increasingly as both a functional and a representational institution. This blurring was evidenced in the high-profile imitation of historical (and even oriental) styles in the ballroom, but it was also evidenced in the arts and in the broader public spectrum.

Her preoccupation with Marie Stuart prompted the Comtesse de Boigne to remember descriptions of her as a 'consumer of Edinburgh relics'.[110] By adopting the iconic historical figure of Marie Stuart, the Duchesse de Berry had underlined the distance of the Bourbon

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[109] 'Danse Fantastique'. Deux crabes esquissent une figure de danse [...]. Dessin mis à l'index, lors des bals de la Duchesse de Berry, Comme portant atteinte à la dignité de la Cour.' Rosset, *Collection de Vinck*, vol. 5, no. 10240. It was printed in the *Caricature*, no. 7 (25 November 1830).

[110] 'I have still in my ear the expressions "consumer of Edinburgh relics" ['J'avais encore dans l'oreille les expressions de *mangeuse de reliques d'Edimbourg*'], Boigne, *Mémoires*, vol. 2, p. 429.

Forioso, ou La Contredanse sur quatre Cordes.

Le Bon Genre, N.° 25.

Plate 11: Forioso, ou La Contredanse sur quatre cordes.

royal family from the real world; like Cenerentola, she was reminiscing that 'once upon a time there was a king'. Thus, the identification of the crown with theatrical display and exhibitionism in the *Quadrille*, as in *La Cenerentola*, contributed to the absorption of the Bourbon royal family into the world of entertainment. From this perspective, *La Cenerentola*'s reception in Paris during the Bourbon Restoration reflected an important set of emotional conflicts, not only for the French monarchy and its adherents, but also for the recovery of a France that was grieving for the loss of old-world privilege. Rossini's music, with its correlation of farce and melancholia, bears witness to this conflict.[111]

If the monarchy had become something of a theatrical circus, then Marie-Caroline was certainly one of the ringmasters. Adelaïde de Boigne described the duchess as a 'tight-rope dancer from Italy'.[112] Dance was well served metaphorically by the tightrope image, as an illustration *Forioso, ou La Contredanse sur quatre Cordes* from *Le Bon genre* suggests (see Plate 11).[113] We see four dancers balanced precariously on the strings of a violin, an instrument associated since the advent of Paganini with perilous and obsessive virtuosic playing. The figures themselves betray something of the drama of the scene; the two central dancers appear to be abandoning their original partners to form another pair.[114] The image suggests that dance was synonymous with emotional as well as physical danger.

That the Duchesse de Berry's theatricality was considered by some of her contemporaries to be 'volcanic' is demonstrated in a comment by André Castelot who (referring to the Duchess's patronage of the Gymnase-Dramatique) said of the Duc de Berry's feelings towards his wife: 'He is won over by her mischievousness, by the altogether street-urchin side of this Neapolitan, of whom one says: 'She is half Vesuvius, half Gymnase'.[115]

When, only a few months after the *Quadrille Marie Stuart*, Marie-Caroline's parents stopped in Paris on their way to Spain for their third daughter's marriage, the celebratory ball

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[111] Dahlhaus wrote of the duality in Rossini's music: 'For a skeptic like Rossini, whose cheerfulness is simply the obverse of a melancholy that afflicted not just himself but his entire age, these extremes prove to be complementary.' Dahlhaus, *Nineteenth-Century Music*, p. 64.

[112] 'danseuse de corde d'Italie', Boigne, Mémoires, vol. 2, p. 429.

[113] *Le Bon genre* (s. d.), no. 25.

[114] The theatricality of the illustration is supported by the format of its title, which mimics the format of theatrical titles (with the characteristic 'ou').

[115] 'Il est conquis par la gaminerie, le côté gavroche avant la lettre de cette Napolitaine dont on disait: '"Elle est moitié Vésuve, moitié Gymnase."' André Castelot, *Le Grand Siècle à Paris* (Paris: Perrin, 1963; rev. 1990), p. 192-3.

at the Orléans residence (the Palais Royal) was referred to in terms of a volcanic eruption. At the ball, which took place on 31 May, a riot broke out in the gardens.[116] The Comte d'Apponyi's description of the fire that was lit by the rioters suggested that uncomfortable memories of the aftermath of the French Revolution were present in the minds of the elder guests:

> What a sight! That fearful clarity, that smoke that rose in billows [...] all of that in this superb palace [...] in the middle of a fête! The cries of revolt married themselves with the sounds of the music, those contradances and waltzes; several old French subjects, witnesses of the scenes of the years '91 and '92 and who found themselves in the middle of this mess, shivered at the thought; they sought in vain to hide their terror.[117]

One guest, speaking to Charles X, made the metaphorical connection between the fire and the Bourbons' close family connections in Naples: 'a very Neapolitan fête monsieur, for we are dancing on a volcano'.[118] In the midst of this scene, which evoked the eruptive and anarchist riots of the early 1790s, it was evident that the ostentatious Bourbons had danced one step too far. This situation was confirmed after July 1830 when, as we shall see (like Cenerentola's emergence as an 'angry butterfly' at the end of her opera), the Duchesse de Berry was to throw all caution to the wind.

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[116] 'The crowd [in the garden] began to riot with cries of "Down with the braid coats!"' Cuvillier-Fleury, *Journal*, vol. 1, p. 187 (31 May 1830). On 31 May 1830, Louis-Philippe d'Orléans (soon to be king) had invited his brother-in-law to a ball held in the Palais Royal. The dancing continued until morning among the blazing lights and 3,000 guests (including the cream of the St-Germain district). Cuvillier-Fleury described a 'crowd of courtiers, of gentlemen in gold, of embroidered uniforms, of sparkling swords, their faces glowing with aristocratic vanity' Cuvillier-Fleury, *Journal intime*, vol. 1, p. 187 (31 May 1830), cited in Mansel, *The Court of France*, p. 187.

[117] Apponyi, *Journal*, vol. 1, p. 260-61 (2 June 1830) 'Quel spectacle! Cette clarté effrayante, cette fumée qui monte en tourbillon [...] tout cela dans ce palais superbe [...] au milieu d'une fête! Ces cris de révolte se marient aux sons de la musique, des contredanses et des valses; plusieurs vieux Français, témoins des scènes de l'année 91 et 92 et qui se trouvaient en même temps que moi sur cette galerie, en frémirent; ils cherchèrent en vain à cacher leur terreur'

[118] Narcisse de Salvandy, speaking to Orléans, is quoted in Cuvillier-Fleury, *Journal*, vol. 1, p. 187 (31 May 1830). The same comment is recorded in Guizot, *Mémoires pour servir*, p. 110.

Chapter Four

Assassination and the Historical Ball: Auber's *Gustave III* and the Duc de Berry

Introduction

Reviewing Auber's opera *Gustave III* in 1833, a journalist from the *Journal des débats* made a prescient remark about the current political impasse of France's leadership, a problem area that was to haunt France throughout the nineteenth century. He saw a society 'dancing to the sound of thrones that crumble, hiding its ruins beneath the flowers', and he dubbed the previous century 'a corrupt, spoiled and egotistical century'.[1]

In his diagnosis, the writer had pessimistically identified two main players: those who fell from their thrones, and those who danced disinterestedly around the spoils.[2] The critic was lamenting missed opportunity and describing the irrevocable distance between failure and success. However, longing for paradise lost was now mingled with a sense of *kairos*, a time to act for the present as much as for the future, that was typical of the early Romantic *Zeitgeist*. As we have seen in previous chapters, the self-determination nurtured during the

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[1] 'dansant au bruit des trônes qui s'écroulent, cachant ses ruines sous des fleurs, siècle corrompu, gâté, égoïste', *Journal des débats* (1 March 1833).

[2] This assessment of the eighteenth century as a spoiled century was backed up by the *Corsaire* (28 January 1827), which appears to refer to Gustavus III in an article entitled: 'Rencontre d'un Classique et d'un Romantique': 'The Classic: 'Eh! It's that dear Amphigourophile! How are you? Do you know that it's a century since we've seen you!' The Romantic: 'The night-time lantern of the ethereal vault has only just completed half of its monthly walk since our visual rays last crossed, and you call that a century? O Gustave, that's pushing the hyperbole too far!' ['Le Classique - Eh! C'est ce cher Amphigouriphile! Comment te portes-tu? Sais-tu bien qu'il y a un siècle qu'on ne t'a vu! Le Romantique - A peine le fallot noctambule de la voûte éthérée a-t-il accompli la moitié de sa promenade mensuelle, depuis que nos rayons visuels ne se sont croisées, et tu t'appelles cela un siècle? Ô Gustave, c'est pousser bien loin l'hyperbole!']

Napoleonic empire became the egoism of the middle-class *nouveau riche* during the Restoration, so that the gap left by the old elite was filled by new aspirants.

It is clear that opera was a useful barometer for the external fantasy-world. Nowhere, as we shall see, was this more evident than in society's predilection for assassination and balls within operatic and literary scenarios. Auber's *Gustave III*, premièred on 27 February 1833, with its celebrated masked ball, was the first major operatic work to step into the arena of regicidal representation. Through its reflection on the assassination of the Swedish king Gustavus III on 16 March 1792, the opera dredged up memories of the execution of Louis XVI, which had taken place only a year after the Swedish regicide. While this referent was strong, the opera also reminded the public of the shocking assassination of the Duc de Berry in 1820. In *Gustave III*, then, high art and historical parody were combined in a cocktail of historical-mindedness, in a manner that touched an open wound for the ousted Bourbons. The political reality, then, of a spoiled monarchy was revisiting itself on stage.

Pre-empting the *Journal des débat's* description of 'a corrupt, spoiled and egotistical century', Gustavus III's own impression of the eighteenth century was conveyed in a letter he wrote to Prince Hessenstein in September 1789, just as the Revolution broke out:

> What do you say of France and the anarchy that has been established there? It will be worse than it was for us; this century has not been favourable to kings, to priests or to nobles. If the three classes understood each other well, they would be united for their reciprocal conservation. But have the passions ever listened to reason?[3]

Bearing in mind Gustavus's knowledge of the plight of the French crown, and that he was writing only three years before his own assassination, his comments on a ruined eighteenth century are poignant as well as prescient. Remarkably, his wish that the three classes should better understand each other was echoed some fifty years later by René de Chateaubriand in a comment he made about the Restoration shortly after the 1830 Revolution:

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[3] 'Que dites-vous de la France et de l'anarchie qu'on y établit? Ce sera pire que ce n'était chez nous; ce siècle n'est pas favorable aux Rois, aux Prêtres et aux Nobles. Si les trois classes s'entendaient bien, elles devraient être unies pour leur conservation réciproque. Mais les passions ont-elles jamais écouté la raison?' Gunnar von Proschwitz, *Gustave III par ses lettres* (Paris: J. Tozot, 1986), (letter 13G), p. 319-20. Gustavus III had been king of Sweden since 1772. His political and literary writings were published by Gustavus's secretary Déchaux as *Stockholm and Paris*, 5 vols (London: n. pub., 1803). Déchaux published Gustavus's own writings in *Ecrits politiques et littéraires, théâtre et correspondance* [of Gustavus III], 5 vols (Stockholm and Paris: n. pub., 1804).

> The Restoration was not more than a common truce from which one tried to make the three great authors of the revolution live together: the Nobleman, the Man of the People and the Soldier. The revolution that emerged from the Château, the Forum and the Camp, where is it? One sees nothing more of it than the worms.[4]

Chateaubriand expressed his disappointment that the activity that had followed the meeting of the Estates General and the Revolution of 1789 had, like the July Revolution, come to little more than a heaving mass of lost ideas. His feelings were representative of the puzzlement of many thinkers of both the Restoration and the July Monarchy.

Scribe's libretto for *Gustave III* (a work about the century that was in Gustavus's own words not 'favourable to kings') offered a focus for political and philosophical discussion of the *ancien régime*. Reviewers led the public voice in expressing their appreciation of the opera's historical content, and their enthusiasm about the thrilling *mise en scène*, yet they remained reticent about the opera's political weight. We are left, then, with several anomalies. Was this opera intended to satisfy the political appetite and, if so, can *Gustave III* be regarded as the paradigm of the regicidal opera? To what extent did *Gustave III* function as a metaphor for the fallen *ancien régime*, and if it did, how was this *chute* symbolised within the opera? To what extent did the ball scene in *Gustave III* represent the hedonism associated with this fall?

In the context of Auber's *Gustave III*, I will show that, after the July Revolution, guilt, nostalgia, and the need for escapism, led the public down a path towards indulgence - a path that repudiated the existence of the king. The task of this chapter is to define the receptacle of public opinion into which this opera fell, that is to say, the possibility that the plot represented a metaphor for the demise of the Bourbons, the extent to which hedonism within the plot reflected hedonism in contemporary society, and the extent to which both composer and librettist contributed to its dramatic and its political impact.

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[4] 'La Restauration ne fut qu'une trêve au moyen de laquelle on essaya de faire vivre ensemble les trois grands auteurs de la révolution: le Noble, l'Homme du Peuple et le Soldat. La révolution maintenant sortie du Château, du Forum et du Camp, où est-elle? On n'en voit plus que les larves.' Chateaubriand, 'Mémoire sur la captivité de la Duchesse de Berry', *Le Normant* (29 December, 1833), p. 84.

The assassinations of the Duc de Berry and Gustavus III

Despite several attempts by authors to present versions of the fateful masked ball of the Swedish king Gustavus III, works on that subject were banished from the stage.[5] In fact, following the murder of the Duc de Berry in 1820, theatrical censors had suppressed any direct references to royal assassinations within the theatrical arena. Several attempts to revive Gustavus's own production of the opera *Gustave Wasa* are recognised in censors' refusals held in the Archives Nationales.[6] Towards the end of the Restoration, however, Alfred de Vigny was among the first to break the taboo of presenting an assassination story to the French public by retelling the plot to assassinate Cardinal Richelieu during the reign of Louis XIV in *Cinq-Mars* (1826). Vigny's novel marked a general change in tone in that, after its publication, the manner in which monarchs or celebrated icons died became a central focus within all artistic genres. This change of focus followed the general trend in which theatres were gaining independence from the monarchy.

The *Mémoires* of Adelaïde Boigne give us an insider's perspective on the events surrounding the assassination of the Duc de Berry.[7] On the night of 12-13 February 1820, some twenty-four hours before the fatal attack, society had gathered together with the young Duc and Duchesse de Berry at a ball given by a Monsieur Greffulhe. Boigne recalled the haunting image of one of the guests, the Duc de Fitzjames, simulating the role of a theatrical character plotting an attack:

> They were giving, at this time, at the theatre of the Porte Saint-Martin, a parody of the opera *Les Danaïdes*, in which the actor Potier, after having distributed his knives,

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[5] The title of Paul de Kock's, *Gustave, ou le Mauvais sujet* (Paris: 1825) bears witness to Paris's reluctance to face the subject.

[6] Various writers' interests in both Gustave Wasa and his grandson Gustave Adolph are evidenced in the Archives Nationales (shelfmark: AJ[13] 138-141 (1821-1823)), which list several submissions of works on Gustave Wasa during the 1820s. Gustave Wasa was, after all a sixteenth-century king, and therefore represented a curiosity for the vogue of French historical-mindedness.

[7] The Marquis de Castries was an eye-witness to the scene inside the Opera. He told the Duchesse de Maille of the duke's death, and that: 'the prince had supported his suffering with courage and résignation [...] in the presence of his wife, of his family and all those who were then at the Opéra, he had declared that Madame la Duchesse de Berry was pregnant by six weeks' ['le prince avait supporté ses souffrances avec courage et résignation [...] en presence de sa femme, de sa famille et de tout ce qui était alors à l'Opéra il avait declaré que Mme la Duchesse de Berry était grosse de six semaines'], Duchesse de Maille, *Souvenirs des deux Restaurations. Journal inédit presenté par Xavier de La Fournière* (Paris: Librairie Académique Perrin, 1984), p. 56-57.

called *eustaches,* to his daughters to kill their husbands, added: 'Go on then, my little lambs'. This word, spoken by Potier in an inimitable manner, had been the making of the piece, and all Paris knew it. [...]

The Duc de Fitzjames had adopted the costume of Potier, and with his hands full of knives, gave one to all the young women, adding a few appropriate phrases according to their personal situation. He particularly addressed himself to Madame la Duchesse de Berry; this became the subject of a long-standing joke about which exact point of the heart it was better to hit, and I saw Madame la Duchesse de Berry leave still holding the knife in her hand. Alas! Twenty-four hours had not gone by before a more formidable knife was thrust into the heart that he had been advising her to touch.[8]

Beyond the horrible premonition that this anecdote represents, the interaction between high society and theatrical life on this evening is clear: Adelaïde de Boigne's description portrays an aristocratic fancy-dress world that imitated fictional drama. In fact, the tendency for members of high society to adopt theatrical garb off the stage was popular with the party-going public. In theatrical clothing, members of Paris's elite society became nominal thespians, going to balls in costumes that enabled them to assume the fantasy roles of their icons.[9] High society thus represented a microcosmic theatre in itself.

On the following night, that of 13-14 February (in fact *dimanche gras*, the festivity that signalled the end of the ball season and the beginning of Lent), Madame de Boigne attended another social event. She described how news of the assassination of the Duc de Berry

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[8] 'On donnait, en ce temps, au théâtre Saint-Martin, une parodie de l'opéra des *Danaïdes* où l'acteur Potier, après avoir distribué de ces couteaux, dits eustaches, à ses filles pour tuer leur mari, ajoutait: *'Allez, mes petits agneaux.'* Ce mot, dit par Potier d'une façon inimitable, avait fait la fortune de la pièce, et tout Paris le connaissait [...]. Le Duc de Fitzjames avait adopté le costume de Potier et, les poches pleines de couteaux, en donnait à toutes les jeunes femmes en y ajoutant quelques phrases appropriées à leur situation personnelle. Il s'adressa particulièrement à madame la Duchesse de Berry; ce fut sujet d'une longue plaisanterie sur l'endroit du coeur qu'il fallait frapper, et je vis madame la Duchesse de Berry partir tenant encore ce couteau à la main. Hélas! vingt-quatre heures ne s'étaient pas écoulées qu'un couteau plus formidable était enfoncé dans ce coeur qu'on lui conseillait de toucher'], Boigne, *Mémoires*, vol. 2, p. 34. Much the same account of the assassination is given in André Castelot, *Le grand siècle de Paris*, p. 198, in which Castelot points out that on the night of the assassination Paris was bathed in a 'thick fog' ['épais brouillard'], and that the temperature was only two degrees. *Les Danaïdes* (whose libretto was by De Roullet), was premièred under the name of Gluck on 26 April 1784, but the music was actually by Salieri. It was well received, reaching 127 performances into the 1820s.

[9] Berlioz related his experience of the ball season of 1834: 'The previous year, with the aid of caricatures by Dantan, we had Rossini, Paganini, Lablache and other important artists, reproduced in the most comic manner, not only in terms of their appearance, but also in the outstanding proclivity of their talent' ['L'année dernière, à l'aide des caricatures de Dantan, nous avons eu Rossini, Paganini, Lablache et autres grands artistes, reproduits de la façon la plus comique, non seulement

overtook the evening's entertainment:

> The outbursts of joy were in full possession of the salon, when Alexandre de Boisgelin entered [...]. He knew M. le Duc de Berry to have been attacked. He had seen the assassin; he had seen the bloody knife. Meanwhile, he did not know of the danger of the injury [...] I will never forget his face. The groups farthest from the door were indulging in gaiety and laughter, while those closer successively received the sinister news, and consternation circulated from person to person, but nevertheless rather slowly. Nobody wanted to relay the news; they circled lower, and closer [...]. The men who were able to remove the costumes in which they were rigged out, rushed out into the streets in search of information.[10]

That evening the Duc and Duchesse de Berry had been to a performance at the Opéra. After delivering his wife into her carriage, the duke was returning to keep an assignation with a dancer from the ballet. While mounting the steps of the Opéra he was stabbed fatally in the left side. Printed images of the assassination, such as *Evanouissement de S. A. R. le duc de Berry* went so far as to indicate the blood dripping from his wound (see Plate 12).[11]

Boigne reported the attack itself as follows:

> Monsieur le Duc de Berry had just put his wife into the carriage. The footmen closed the door. He was going back to the Opéra to see the final scene of the ballet, and to receive the signal from one of the dancers for a visit that he wanted to arrange [...]. A man cut through the people, collided with one of the *aides-de-camp* to the extent that he said: "Take your guard monsieur"; in the same instant he put a hand on the shoulder of the Prince, and with the other pushed in above his shoulder an enormous dagger, which he left in his chest, and took flight before anybody among all the numerous entourage had the time to prevent his action [...]. Monsieur le Duc de Berry believed

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dans leur extérieur, mais encore dans toutes les habitudes saillantes de leur talent.'], *Gazette musicale de Paris* (18 January 1835).

[10] 'Les éclats de joie étaient en pleine possession du salon, lorsque Alexandre de Boisgelin y entra [...]. Il savait monsieur le Duc de Berry atteint. Il avait vu l'assassin; il avait vu le sanglant couteau. Cependant il ignorait encore le danger de la blessure [...]. Je n'oublierai jamais son aspect. Les groupes éloignés de la porte étaient livrés à la gaieté et aux rires, tandis que ceux plus rapprochés recevaient successivement la sinistre nouvelle et que la consternation gagnait de place en place, mais pourtant assez lentement. Personne ne voulant s'en faire le héraut, elle circulait tout bas de proche en proche [...]. Les hommes, qui pouvaient se débarrasser des costumes dont ils étaient affublés, se précipitaient dans les rues pour aller aux informations.' Boigne, *Mémoires,* vol. 2, p. 35-6.

[11] *Evanouissement de S. A. R. le duc de Berry*, Rosset, *Collection de Vinck*, vol. 5, no. 10560.

Plate 12 : Evanouissement de S. A. R. le duc de Berry.

> at that point that he had received only a punch, and said: "That man hit me", then, taking his hand to his chest, he cried: "Ah! it's a dagger; I am dead".[12]

The assassin was Louis Pierre Louvel, a Napoleonic sympathiser who had worked within the royal court since the beginning of the Restoration. The duke suffered for several hours, during which time he found the energy to pardon his assassin, and to make his final requests. He died surrounded by his grieving family, and those of his entourage who had been at the evening's performance. Among those who knew of the role-playing the previous evening between Fitzjames and the Duchesse de Berry, the irony must have cut deep.

On a similarly wintry night, 16 March 1792 (less than a year before the execution of Louis XVI), Gustavus III of Sweden had also been assassinated during a masked ball at the new Stockholm opera house.[13] Gustavus arrived at midnight, and, despite an anonymous warning letter delivered to him during supper, he was shot in the left side by Jacob Johan Ankarström who, like Louvel, had been in the king's employment for some time. Ankarström had not been motivated by revolutionary fervour, but by the growing fears of the Swedish nobility that Gustave's liberal policies threatened their supremacy.[14] The attack had taken place on an evening which, like that of the assassination of the Duc de Berry, was the occasion of the last masked ball of the season. Gustavus survived, lucid but suffering, until

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[12] 'Monsieur le Duc de Berry venait de mettra sa femme en voiture. Les valets de pied fermaient la portière. Il rentrait à l'Opéra pour voir la dernière scène du ballet et recevoir d'une danseuse le signal de la visite qu'il désirait lui faire [...]. Un homme passe à travers tout ce monde, heurte un des aides de camp au point qu'il lui dit: "Prenez donc garde, monsieur"; dans le même instant pose une main sur l'épaule du Prince, de l'autre enfonce, par-dessus l'épaule, un énorme couteau qu'il lui laisse dans la poitrine et prend la fuite sans que personne, dans tout ce nombreux entourage, ait le temps de prévenir son action [...]. Monsieur le Duc de Berry crut d'abord n'avoir reçu qu'un coup de poing, et dit: "Cet homme m'a frappé", puis, portant la main sur sa poitrine, il s'écria: "Ah! c'est un poignard; je suis mort."' Boigne, *Mémoires,* vol. 2, p. 37.

[13] It was reported that 'In the midst of the chaos, the *domino noirs* spread confusion around by crying out: fire!' ['Au milieu de la confusion, les domino noirs semèrent la confusion en criant: au feu!'], Claude Nordmann, *Grandeur et liberté de la Suède, 1660-1792* (Paris: Nauwelaerts, 1971), p. 448. The conspirators Ankarström, Horn and Ribbing were all arrested, and there were popular uprisings during the immediate aftermath. For further commentaries on the assassination of Gustavus III see: Louis Antoine Léouzon, *Les Couronnes sanglantes. Gustave III, Roi de Suède, 1746-1792* (Paris: Amyot, 1861); Jean-Pierre Mousson-Lestang, *Histoire de la Suède* (Paris: Hatier, 1995); Irene Scobbie, *Sweden* (London: Ernest Benn, 1972). At the Opéra that night, they were showing two works from France's Théâtre Français: Regnard's *Folies amoureuses*, and Allainval's *L'Ecole des Bourgeois.*

[14] See Léouzon, *Les Couronnes sanglantes*, p. 317.

29 March.[15]

The assassinations of the Duc de Berry in 1820 and Gustavus III in 1792 had much in common. Both had taken place at public theatres, both had occurred on evenings of unusual festivities, and both victims had suffered for some time after their attacks. The Berry 'regicide' had apparently left France without an heir after Charles d'Artois (later Charles X), while the Gustavus III regicide had left Sweden under new leadership.

Like the night preceding the murder of the Duc de Berry (on which the duchess had enacted the murder of her husband), Gustavus III's assassination had also had its pre-emptive spinal shiver. Gustavus's biographer Schröderheim reported a walk he had taken with the king along a portrait-lined corridor during the year 1782. Stopping opposite a painting of Charles I, Gustavus had expressed his fears for the dignity of his own death, and then collapsed into anguished sobs. Schröderheim recorded the king's sentiments: '[Gustavus] should not die a natural death, he would prefer a thousand times to carry his head on a scaffold like Charles I than to fall under the dagger of a Damiens or a Ravaillac'.[16] In this, Gustavus had made clear his awareness that the duty of a monarch was to die a significant public death - one that would qualify him as an icon, or as a martyr for the cause of the crown.[17]

The assassinations of both the Duc de Berry and Gustave III, and the protocol that surrounded them, had demanded spontaneous and unified atonement on the parts of the public, its government and its theatre audiences. For the theatrical *demi-monde*, the aftershock had been substantial in both instances: while the Duc de Berry's death had ensured the demolition of the Opéra in the Rue de Richelieu, Gustave's death had ensured the long-

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[15] Ankarström had hoped to make his attack during at least two previous masked balls of that season (2 and 9 March 1792), see Léouzon, *Les Couronnes sanglantes*, p. 320.

[16] 'il ne devait pas mourir de mort naturelle, il aimerait mieux mille fois porter sa tête sur un échafaud comme Charles I, que de tomber sous le poignard d'un Damiens ou d'un Ravaillac', Léouzon, *Les Couronnes Sanglantes*, p. 257-8, quoting Gustavus III's secretary Schröderheim (Léouzon did not detail the source, which may have been one of Schröderheim's own publications). Damiens had attempted the life of Louis XV in the eighteenth century, and Ravaillac was the assassin of Henri IV in 1610.

[17] A desire for dignity and purpose also surrounded Louis XVI's last moments in January 1793. Among his last words were: 'I die innocent, I pardon my enemies, and I hope that my blood may be useful for the French and that it may appease God's wrath.' Albert Soboul, *Le Procès de Louis XVI* (Paris: Collection Archives, 1966) p. 232, and Alphonse Esquiros, *Histoire des Montagnards*, 2 vols (Paris: Lecou, 1847), vol. 2, p. 292, cited in Dunn, *The Deaths of Louis XVI*, p. 27.

term closure of the Drottningholm court theatre.[18] Most importantly for the futures of both France and Sweden, both assassinations had renewed the public's uncertainty about the legitimacy issue.

Madame de Boigne, who had repeatedly expressed her abhorrence of the Bourbons, did not perceive the Berry assassination to have been a national tragedy:

> If Monsieur le Duc de Berry had been brought up by reasonable people, if they had taught him to get past the impulse to unleash his passions, to count among men, to exchange his fantasies for propriety, he would have had the stuff necessary to make an accomplished prince. As it was, his death was neither a loss for his son, nor for his family, nor for his country.[19]

Similarly, the assassination of Gustavus III had been met with ambivalence in Sweden: the fact that Gustave had demonstrated his preference for theatre and entertainment over government, meant that his death had not inspired political panic amongst aristocrats.[20] The public's knowledge of the clandestine lives of both Gustavus and the Duc de Berry added to public scepticism about their integrity. In exile before the Restoration, the Duc de Berry had sired two illegitimate daughters by Amy Brown, and later an illegitimate son by Virginie Oreille.[21] Although Gustavus III had married, had produced an heir, and had been reported to

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[18] The Drottningholm court theatre flourished under Gustavus's attentions after he inherited it in 1777. The theatre was refurbished in 1791, but was abandoned shortly after Gustavus's death. It was only uncovered (untouched since the 1790s) in 1921 by the Swedish historian Anje Beijer.

[19] 'Si monsieur le Duc de Berry avait été élevé par des personnes raisonnables, si on lui avait apris à vaincre la fougue de ses passions, à compter avec les hommes, à sacrifier ses fantaisies aux convenances, il y avait en lui de l'étoffe pour faire un prince accompli. Tel qu'il était, sa mort n'était pas une perte ni pour son fils, ni pour sa famille, ni pour son pays.' Boigne, *Mémoires,* vol. 2, p. 42. Boigne did, however, merit the Duc de Berry with having 'invented' the *caisses d'épargne* (savings accounts) as a financial initiative to help the staff of his royal household, Boigne, *Mémoires*, vol. 2, p. 42.

[20] 'One enemy proposed itself to him, the nobility, the nobility which, without national pride, without patriotism, not only did not take any pleasure from his liberating acts, but furthermore considered them to be a crime' ['Un seul ennemi se dressait devant lui, la noblesse, la noblesse qui, sans foi nationale, sans patriotisme, non-seulement ne lui savait aucun gré de ses actes libérateurs, mais encore les lui imputait à crime'], Léouzon, *Couronnes sanglantes*, p. 317.

[21] The Duchesse de Berry promised her dying husband on his death bed that she would watch over his illegitimate daughters as though they were her own, see Edmond Dupland, *Marie-Caroline Duchesse de Berry* (Paris: France-Empire, 1996), p. 15-20. Pierre Serval also gives details of the duke's illegitimate children in *Moi, la Duchesse de Berry* (Paris: Albin Michel, 1986), p. 176-7. Boigne saved the duke no embarrassment when she wrote: 'Monsieur de La Ferronnays [First Gentleman of the Chamber], having reproached Monsieur le Duc de Berry for his foolishness, having helped him to avoid them as much as he could [...] hoped that after his marriage the prince would adopt a more regular life-style; far from it, he seemed to redouble the scandal of his

have made overtures to the Countess of Ribbing (the wife of one of his assassins, as it turned out), he had also demonstrated a homosexual tendency that had provoked public derision. His biographer Louis Antoine Léouzon remarked, using fashionable historical references:

> If one has taken pleasure sometimes in comparing Gustavus III to François I and to Henri IV, one might also have recognised, it seems, more than one trait of resemblance to Henri III. His antechambers were encumbered, under the description 'pageboys', with a crowd of favourites whose great impertinence said enough about the credit they enjoyed near his majesty. Is not this one of the causes of the coldness that characterised, they say, his intimate relations with women?[22]

Gustavus's whole-hearted involvement in the theatrical world threw into question his commitment to state affairs: 'He designed the costumes himself, he directed the rehearsals, he inspired the decorations; often he wrote or corrected the texts'.[23] Having spent his day directing and acting in the theatre, Gustavus would continue to wear his dramatic costume in public long after the performance had ended.[24] His penchant for cross-dressing also contributed to the suggestion of his ambiguous sexuality. It was somehow appropriate, that, like the Duc de Berry, who died on the steps of the Opéra as he tried to fulfil an amorous engagement, Gustavus had died in full theatrical regalia at a fantastical court event.

There were, however, more statesmanlike reasons for perceiving a connection between the Duc de Berry and Gustavus III. Having established strong ties with the French court during his youth (Gustave was called back from France to Sweden only when he was needed to take up his royal duties), the Swedish king had spent a great deal of time with the French royal family in Versailles and in Paris. Indeed, much of the Swedish theatrical repertoire of

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subsidiary liaisons' ['Monsieur de La Ferronnays [premier gentilhomme de la chambre], après avoir reproché ses sottises à monsieur le Duc de Berry, après lui en avoir évité le plus qu'il pouvait [...] espéré qu'après son mariage le prince adopterait un genre de vie plus régulier; loin de là, il semblait redoubler le scandale de ses liaisons subalternes'], Boigne, *Mémoires,* vol. 1, p. 666.

[22] 'Si l'on s'est plu quelques fois à comparer Gustave III à François 1^er^ et à Henri IV, on eût pu lui trouver aussi, ce semble, plus d'un trait de ressemblance avec Henri III. Ses antichambres étaient encombrées, sous le noms de pages, d'une foule de mignons dont la haute impertinence disait assez de quel crédit ils jouissaient auprès du souverain. N'est-ce pas là une des causes de la froideur qui caractérisait, dit on, ses intimités avec les femmes?' Léouzon, *Les Couronnes sanglantes*, p. 130-31.

[23] 'Il dessinait lui-mème les costumes, il dirigeait les répétitions, il inspirait les décors; souvent aussi il écrivât ou corrigeait les pièces', Léouzon, *Les Couronnes sanglantes*, p. 231.

[24] 'At public dinners which now and then followed the performances he gave at court, he habitually retained his stage costume' ['Aux soupers publics qui de temps en temps, suivaient les représentations qu'il donnait à sa cour, il conservait habituellement son costume d'acteur.'], Léouzon, *Couronnes sanglantes,* p. 231.

the late eighteenth century had been taken from the Parisian stage. Furthermore, Gustavus was soon to confirm his allegiance to the French crown when he facilitated the escape of Louis XVI in the ill-fated Flight to Varennes in June 1791.[25]

In addition to associations with the regicide of the Duc de Berry, therefore, it was easy for audiences of *Gustave III* to identify the assassination of Gustavus with the execution of Louis XVI. With such obvious parallels we can convincingly initiate an inquiry about how Auber's opera of 1833 might have been perceived as a metaphor for the demise of both the *ancien régime*, and the Bourbon Restoration.

Gustave III and the July Monarchy

Surprisingly, although the première of *Gustave III* coincided with a Legitimist assassination attempt against Louis-Philippe (the 'conspiration de la rue Prouvières' in 1832, in which the Duchesse de Berry was herself implicated), the censors did not prevent its production.[26] This

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[25] From 1778, Germaine de Staël-Holstein's husband, the Baron de Staël-Holstein, was attached to the Swedish embassy in Paris. As a result of this connection, Madame de Staël corresponded at times with Gustavus III, see Mathieu Auguste Geffroy, *Gustave III et la Cour de France; suivi d'une étude critique sur Marie Antoinette et Louis XVI. Apocryphes. Avec portraits inédits de Marie Antoinette*, 2 vols (Paris: n. pub., 1867), p. 45. Gustavus's reputation as a liberal and enlightened monarch is borne out by evidence that, as a young man, he corresponded with Voltaire. There was also a correspondence between Gustave III and Marie Antoinette, with whom the Swedish Count Ferson reportedly had an affair. Ferson certainly played the part of protector in connection with the Bourbons' attempt to flee from Paris to Varennes in June 1791. Madame de Staël wrote to Gustavus: 'It is to Comte Ferson that one attributes the plan of the king's departure. It is a great happiness that he was able to escape.' ['C'est au comte Ferson qu'on attribue le plan de départ du roi. C'est un grand bonheur qu'il ait pu s'échapper.'], cited in Léouzon, *Couronne Sanglante*, p. 283-289. In fact the Flight to Varennes ['fuite à Varennes'] was foiled, and the king was returned to Paris in disgrace.

[26] 'The king was shot at. It was the beginning of a detestable series of assassination attempts. Begerion, who escaped, was eventually arrested, judged and acquitted of a crime for which he has since publicly praised himself' ['On avait tiré sur le Roi. C'est le commencement d'une détestable série de tentatives d'assassinat. Begerion, qui s'échappa, fut enfin arrêté, jugé et acquitté d'un crime dont depuis s'est publiquement lui même vanté'], Boigne, *Mémoires*, vol. 2, p. 433 (writing about 19 November 1832). For another discussion of the events in the Rue Prouvières, see René de Chateaubriand, *Mémoires d'outre tombe*, 5 vols (Paris: Dufour, Mulat and Boulanger, 1860), vol. 5, p. 374-392. On 28 July 1835, three years after the Provières Affair, Giuseppe Fieschi also attempted to assassinate Louis-Philippe. As a result, theatres were closed, the stringent laws of September 1835 forbade political caricature, and the cartoonist Daumier was imprisoned for six months on the basis of his suspected involvement. Fieschi was himself tried and executed.

coincidence brought to the forefront of the French consciousness the long history of attempts on the lives of monarchs, including that of Damiens against Louis XV, and it could not fail to remind the public of attempts against Napoleon, such as the *machine infernale* (the primitive missile launcher that had been aimed at him in 1800). Thus both political extremes had reason to feel protective of the memories of their heroes.

Louis-Philippe's tolerance towards Bonapartism was surely behind the lenient censorial approach to the representation of regicide on the stage in *Gustave III*. Undoubtedly, his acknowledgement of Napoleon in 1830 (reflected in his toleration of the spate of theatrical works based on Napoleonic history - see Appendix 6) confirmed that the Orléans monarchy was the friend of Bonapartism.[27] It was, after all, because Louis-Philippe had supported the Revolution of 1789 that the Bourbons had held him at arm's length throughout the Restoration. Underlining the French public's conflicting loyalties to the exiled Bourbons during 1833 was the fact that the première of *Gustave III* occurred only five months before the huge ceremonial inauguration of the statue of Napoleon on the top of the Colonne Vendôme (28 July 1833).[28] With this symbolic resurrection of Napoleon, anti-monarchists underlined their message that the monarchy of the *ancien régime* (of which *Gustave III* was symbolic) was past.

Interestingly too, the Opéra's 1820 ballet *Les Pages du Duc de Vendôme*, with its dubious Napoleonic origins, was still being performed on a regular basis in 1833. A reporter from the *Courrier des théâtres* of 25 February 1833 (only two days before the première of *Gustave III*) wrote that at a recent performance of the ballet he had felt that the work was so well danced that he wanted to cry - but did not dare. As will become apparent, *Les Pages*, with its political ambiguities, and its emphasis on *divertissements*, was about to see its apotheosis in *Gustave III*.

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[27] 'The statue of Napoleon which will crown the column in the Place Vendôme is finished. It is now at the founders in order to be cast in bronze' ['La statue de Napoléon qui doit couronner la colonne de la place Vendôme est terminée. Elle est maintenant chez le fondeur pour être coulée en bronze'], *Courrier des théâtres* (5 February 1833).

[28] The inauguration was a huge affair, involving a procession of 8,000 men and cavalry. Louis-Philippe himself sat at the foot of the column. See Guillaume de Bertier de Sauvigny, *La France et les français vus par les voyageurs américains, 1814-1848* (Paris: Flammarion, 1982), p. 233. The Bibliothèque Nationale holds several illustrations of the new statue. See, for example, Villa, *La Collection de Vinck*, vol. 6, no. 12 379. Hugo's ode *A la colonne de la Place Vendôme*, published in 1827, indicated the presence of the ambiguous symbolism surrounding the Colonne Vendôme during the 1820s. See Victor Hugo, *Odes et ballades*, Livre 3, no. 7 (Paris: Nelson, 1920).

The plot and reception

In historical terms, the plot of Scribe's libretto for *Gustave III* related only tenuously to the actual events of Gustavus's death. Indeed, the opera's deviations from historical accuracy are key to our understanding of censorial etiquette, operatic taste and political inclination during the period. Firstly let us familiarise ourselves with the story of Auber's opera.

Gustave, King of Sweden, struggles to counter his love for Amélie, the wife of the high-ranking Count Ankastrom. The count, in turn, struggles between loyalty to his king and suspicions about his clandestine affair. Gustave is warned by Ankastom of a brewing conspiracy to overthrow him. He goes to consult his spiritual guide (a witch named Arvedsen) and arrives in time to hear Amélie discussing the guilty passion she feels for him. Arvedsen warns Amélie of the dangers of such an alliance. She advises her to collect potent herbs from the site of public execution in order to ward off the evil of her situation. Amélie exits, cloaked. Then comes Gustave's consultation; Arvedsen informs him that the next man to shake his hand will also be his assassin. Gustave laughs off the warning, greeting his friend Ankastrom by the hand as a proof that such a death would be impossible. By chance, Gustave and Amélie (concealed with a veil) subsequently meet Ankastrom at the foot of the public gibbet. Ankastrom impresses upon Gustave the urgency of increased personal security and, seeing him with a woman, he offers to guide the unknown lady back into town. When Amélie's veil falls away, Ankastrom is horrified by the truth that Amélie and Gustave are lovers. At once his desire for vengeance is awoken, and he joins the conspirators who are drawing straws to decide who will deal the fatal blow. Furious with Amélie, Ankastrom sacrifices her in a moment of stunning drama by forcing her to draw his fateful straw. In the style of a Classical Greek tragedy, Amélie has chosen her own husband to kill her lover.

Gustave receives two anonymous warnings not to attend the ball that will celebrate Ankastrom's new commission in Finland. Defying fate in order to confront his enemy, and under the misconception that his costume will disguise him, Gustave dresses as a *Domino Noir* and begins to melt into the crowds. A pageboy unwittingly reveals the identity of this *Domino Noir* to the conspirators, and Ankastrom moves in on his prey. When Gustave awards the governorship of Finland to Ankastrom with the words 'c'est mon dernier présent' ('this is my last gift to you'), Ankastrom responds with a pistol. The fatal shot is barely heard above the ebullience of the music and dance.

Scribe had originally presented his libretto to Rossini during the late Restoration, but Rossini had declined the offer, and it was Auber who eventually accepted it.[29] The timing of Scribe's original offer, of course, places the conception of *Gustave III* cleanly in the pre-1830 period, and therefore ties the scenario into the same chronological framework as Auber's earlier collaboration with Scribe, the revolution-inspiring *La Muette de Portici* of 1828. In the event, Scribe's libretto for *Gustave III* did not meet its audience until 27 February 1833. Helped by the ecstatic reception of the ball scene in the final act, Auber's setting received some 169 performances in Paris. Counted amongst these were fragmented versions (after 1834 the opera became increasingly broken up) and during the second half of the century the ball scene was extracted from the opera and performed independently as a theatrical entity in itself.[30]

Most of the character names in *Gustave III* were drawn from history, but the romantic motivation behind Scribe's storyline was (in keeping with the tradition of historical Grand Opera), fabricated.[31] While the overall frame was the same (Gustavus III was assassinated by Ankarström at his own masked ball), the motive was transformed to include the adulterous love-affair that neatly provided a veneer for Gustavus's sexual ambiguity, and distracted the

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[29] Weinstock, *Rossini*, p. 60.

[30] *Gustave III* remained in the Parisian repertoire for decades. Lajarte gives details of numbers of performances in *Bibliothèque musicale*. Before the publication of Lajarte's study, the opera was performed 73 times in its entirety. After the forty-first performance (27 April 1834), the extraction of individual acts began. Act 5 was added to other works of the repertoire; Act 2 was performed a further 18 times, Act 4 a further four times, and Act 5 a total of 57 times. The last scene (the ball) was given 17 independent performances until 25 October 1859, appended in some cases to other works of the operatic repertoire. Including these part-performances, Lajarte calculated a total of 169 performances.

[31] The solo roles in *Gustave III* were as follows: Gustave III - Nourrit (tenor); Comtesse Amélie - Cornélie Falcon (mezzo-soprano); Ankarstrom - Levasseur (bass); Oscar the page - Julie Dorus-Gras (soprano); Arvedson - Mme Dabadie (low soprano); Comte de Horn - Henri Dabadie (baritone).

The libretto of *Gustave III* was used for at least two other works: *Il reggente*, a *dramma lirico* in three acts by librettist Cammarano and composer Mercadante (Turin, 2 February 1843); *Un ballo in maschera*, a *melodramma* in three acts by librettist Somma and composer Verdi (Rome, 17 February 1859). Both Mercadante's and Verdi's operas provoked controversial reactions, and their contents were transformed in order to avoid any political *faux pas*. Consequently the action of *Il reggente* was transferred to 1570s Scotland, with the principal characters becoming: Count Murray, the Regent (Gustave), Duke of Hamilton (Ankarstrom), Meg (Arvedson) and Amelia (Amélie), while for *Il ballo in maschera* the action was transferred to Boston at the end of the seventeenth century, and its principal characters were renamed: Riccardo (Gustave), Renato (Ankarstrom), Amelia (Amélie) and Ulrica the negro fortune-teller (Arvedson). A German version called *Die Ballnacht* was performed in Vienna as late as 1877. Note that all three masked-ball operas (Auber, Mercadante and Verdi) were premièred during the month of February towards the end of the annual ball season.

Parisian audience's attention from the political motivation behind the assassination.[32] Similarly, the scenario for *La Muette* had been refocused away from political insinuation and onto Fenella's love affair.

Three scenes in particular caught the critics' imagination: the incantation scene of the witch Arvedsen (Act 2, No. 5), the infernal scene next to the gibbet between Amélie and Gustave (Act 3, No. 10), and that of the dazzling and exhilarating ball which swept all other thoughts from the minds of those watching (Act 5, No. 18). The scene of the assassination, on the other hand (Act 5, No. 19), inspired comparatively little comment. François-Joseph Fétis, a respected author, composer and music critic of the early nineteenth century, considered the rich and historically referential visual elements of *Gustave III* to be of unprecedented quality, and believed that the scenery demonstrated 'a rare intelligence'.[33]

Gustavus III's real-life interest in the occult provided dramatic and musical opportunities for Scribe and Auber, and appealed to the early nineteenth century audience.[34] Auber matched Scribe's *Macbeth*-like communion with the sorceress Arvedsen with pseudo-gothic horror music during the seance, where whirling strings, offbeat rhythmic propulsion,

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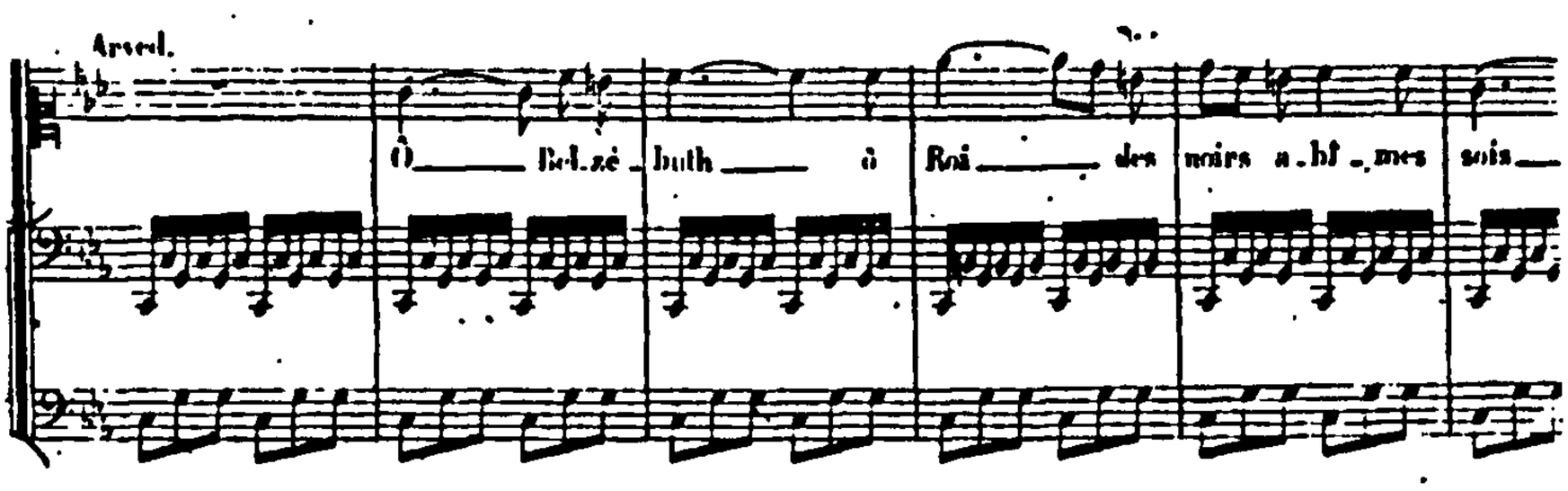
[32] Gustavus's sexual ambiguity was common knowledge. On 1 March 1833, the *Journal des débats* commented on the dubiousness of Gustave's love-match *chez* Scribe: 'M. Scribe, ingenious flatterer of opera, made Gustave amorous of a woman, and further still of a great, fine and very virtuous lady, the dear and devoted wife of his trusted friend and supporter Ankarstrom' ['M. Scribe, ingénieux flatteur d'opéra, a fait de Gustave l'amoureux d'une femme, et encore d'une grande belle dame très vertueuse, la femme chérie et dévouée de son ami et féal Ankarstrom.']

[33] 'The staging of *Gustave III* transcends all that has existed up to the present day. The costumes are of an admirable faithfulness and richness; the scenary leads the spectator from stupefaction to stupefaction; the production has been presided over with a rare intelligence.' ['La mise en scène de *Gustave III* efface tout ce qui a été fait jusqu'à ce jour. Des costumes d'une fidélité et d'une richesse admirables; des décorations qui conduisent le spectateur de stupéfaction en stupéfaction; une mise en scène à laquelle a présidé une rare intelligence.' Fétis in an article for the *Revue musicale* (2 March 1833). For details of the staging see Robert H. Cohen, 'Dix livrets de mise en scène lyrique datant des créations parisiennes, 1824-1843.' *La vie musicale en France au XIX siècle,* [facsimile] 6, (Stuyvesant, N. Y: Pendragon 1998).

[34] Léouzon quotes Gustavus III's biographer Schröderheim in a description of a magic seance ['séance de magie'], which took place during Gustavus's reign. It included 'princes, their brothers and some people from his court, at the home of the famous Plommenfelt, on Good Friday of the year 1779 [...]. Plommenfelt did not appear until midnight: he was hideous to see, with messy hair, and the sleeves of his shirt rolled up to his shoulders [...] he held a crucifix in front of him' ['les princes ses frères et quelques personnages de sa cour, chez le fameux Plommenfelt, le vendredi saint de l'année 1779 [...]. Plommenfelt n'aparut qu'a minuit: il était hideux à voir, les cheveux hérissés, les manches de sa chemise retroussées jusqu'aux épaules [...] il portait devant lui un crucifix' Léouzon, *Les Couronnes Sanglantes*, p. 256.

and distant portentous horns build up to Arvedsen's entrance.[35] In this scene, a spine-tingling chromaticism steals upwards in the violins towards her chilling: 'O Belzébuth, o Roi des noirs abîmes, sois aujourd'hui mon guide et mon soutien' ('O Beelzebub, O King of dark abysses, be today my guide and support', see Ex. 25).

Ex. 25: Arvedsen - 'O Bélzebub'



Arvedsen's mezzo tessitura and *parlante* style add gravity to her soothsaying, but after a promising opening to this number, the musical quality soon relies too much on tonic-dominant harmonies, which lay waste to any promise of dramatic colour afforded by chromaticism. The remarkable dramatic potential of the scene is destroyed unexpectedly by the chorus 'Vive vive la devineresse' ('Long live the soothsayer'), which Auber sets to a preposterous um-pa military band style that breaks any sense of dramatic continuity (see Ex. 26):

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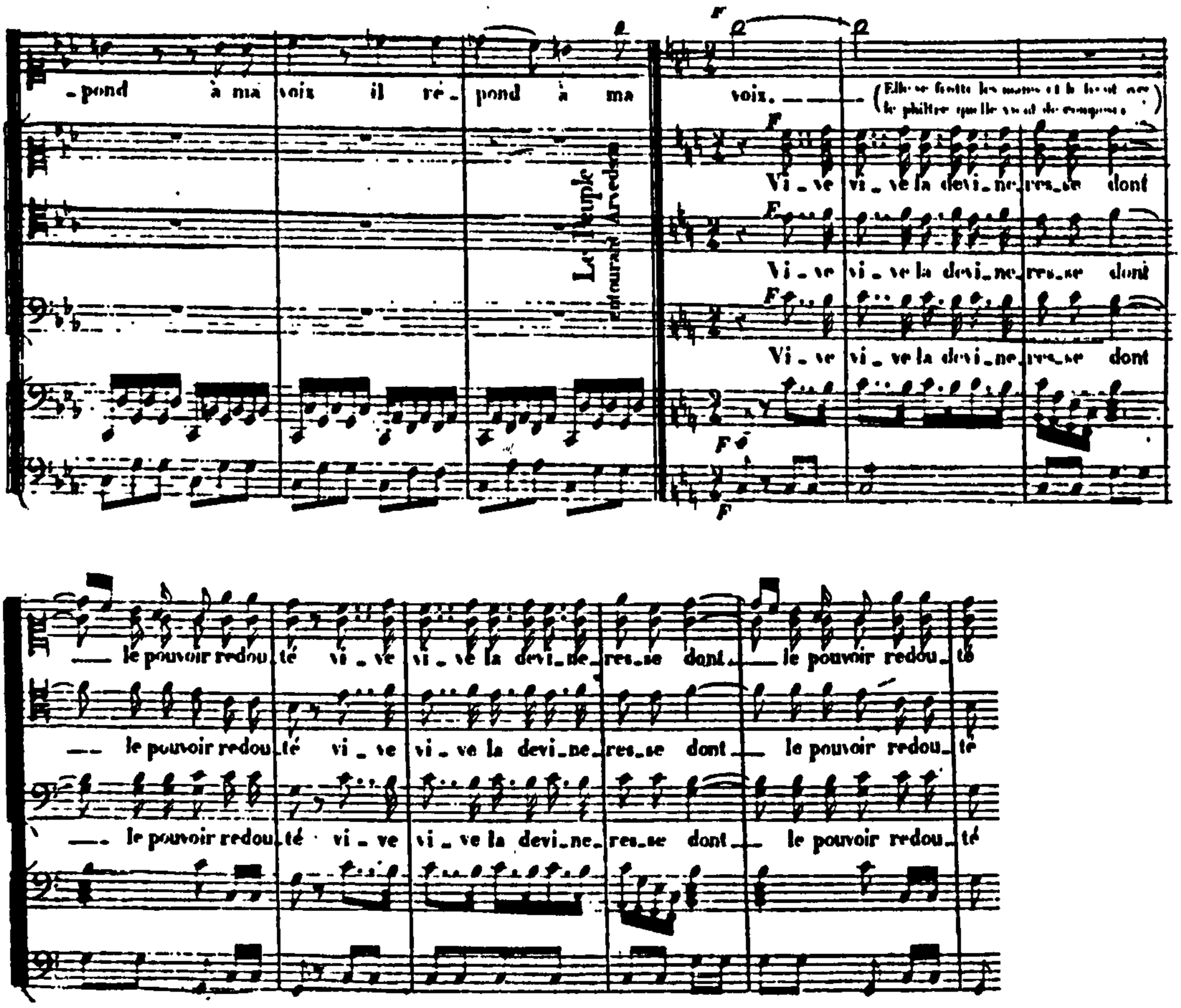
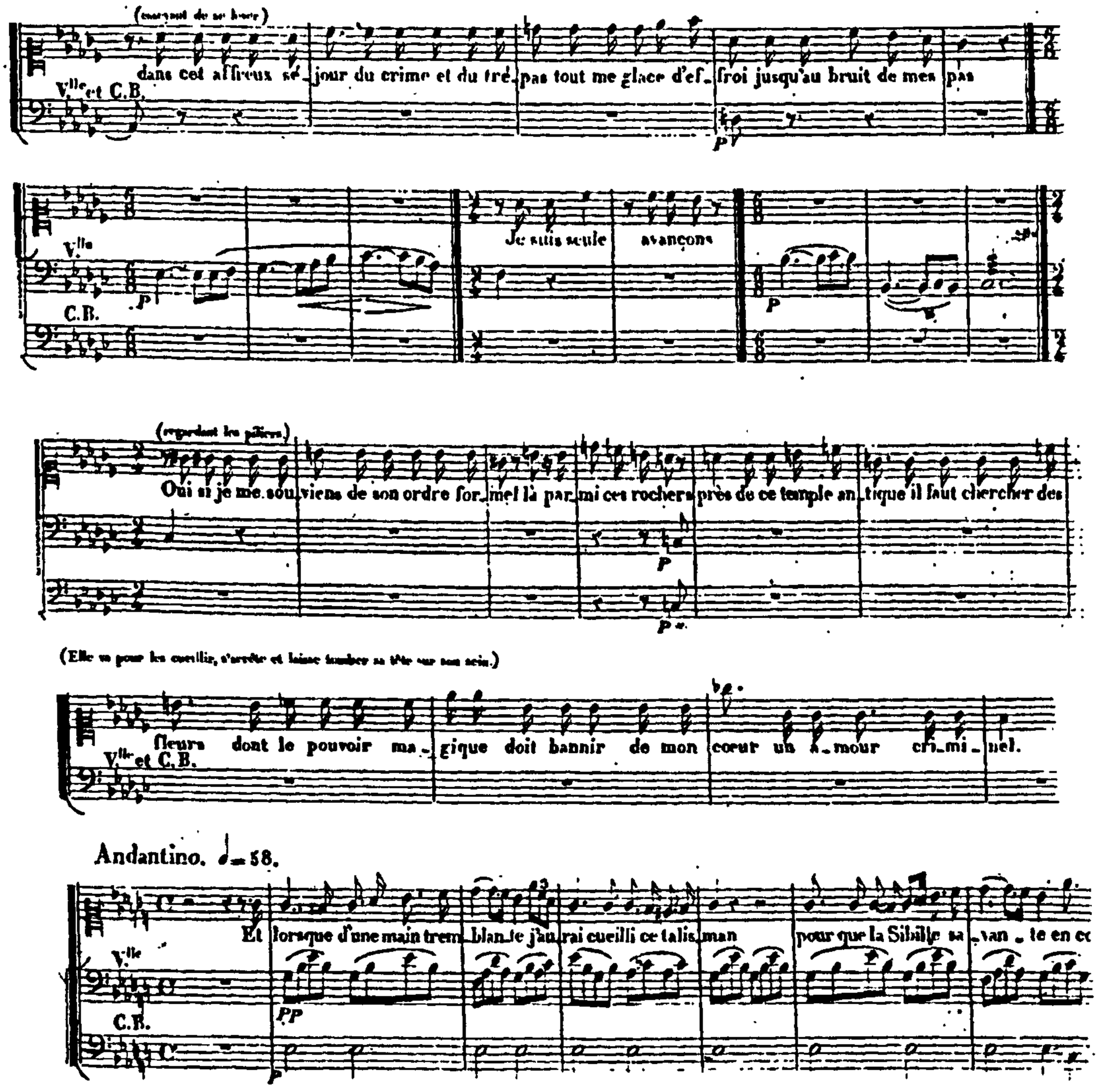
[35] Opera audiences had already been presented with a similar witch's scene in Chélard's opera *Macbeth* of 1827.

Ex. 26: Chorus - 'Vive vive la devineresse'



In the gibbet scene that opens Act 3 (No. 10) tremulous strings shiver above the constantly rising and falling chromatic passages, while disconcerting bells pronounce midnight. Amélie's lamenting soliloquy takes place at the foot of the gibbet, which confronts the audience with a nightmarish symbol of death: 'My strength is abandoning me, in this horrid place of crime and trespass everything, even the sound of my own footsteps, freezes me with fear' (see Ex. 27).[36]

Ex. 27: Amélie - 'Dans cet affreux séjour du crime'



[36] 'Mon Dieu secourez moi, la force m'abandonne dans cet affreux séjour du crime et du trépas, tout me glace d'effroi jusqu'au bruit de mes pas' Amélie, opening of Act 3.

In the following moments Amélie's emotions take hold, and on 'God, who sees my suffering, do not abandon me' she expresses the depth of her fears with a sustained high-level intensity (Ex. 28):

Ex. 28: Amélie - 'Dieu qui vois ma souffrance ne m'abandonne pas'

Amélie describes the gibbet as her 'temple antique', a divine monument of sorts (No. 10): 'near this antique temple I must find flowers whose magic power should banish the criminal love from my heart'.[37] The visual effect of Amélie stumbling in the darkness around the ghastly silhouette of the gibbet must have been disturbing. Ciceri's scenary, showing three gibbets, on one of which there perches a gaunt crow, was stark and desolate. Musically, however, this chilling opening to Act 3 is dissipated by Auber's setting as the scene's dramatic eloquence becomes subsumed by the sentimental melody of the duet between Amélie and Gustave (No. 11).

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[37] 'près de ce temple antique il faut chercher des fleurs dont le pouvoir magique doit bannir de mon coeur un amour criminel.' Act 2, No. 10.

Were it not for this, Amélie's disquieting lament for lost hope might have provided a more potent closure to the opera than did the actual, perfunctory final scene (Act 5, No. 19). In these last moments, the audience is reeling too much from the whirling dance that constitutes the ball to notice Gustave as he sinks to the floor. An oratorio-like chorus of grief calls for 'la patrie' (patriotism), and the last redemptive words of the dying king, 'grâce pour eux' ('forgiveness for them') are met with a melodramatic choral gasp 'Ah', before the curtain falls. The religious metaphor of Christ on the cross ('Father forgive them, for they know not what they do') is clear (see Ex. 29).[38]

Rather than exploring the crowd's emotions, Scribe's decision to close the opera at this moment is both disconcertingly precipitous and perplexing, and it provides another example of the way in which Auber's music comes dangerously close to dramatic affectation, and is potentially disappointing to a modern audience. This curtailed and musically weak final scene amounted to a bemusing interruption to the ball, rather than any cathartic expiation of guilt.

Questions about the extent to which Auber's music determined the fervent reception of the opera are particularly pertinent with regards to the reportedly overwhelming impact of the masked-ball scene in Act 5. The extent to which the music for this scene created an atmosphere of euphoria at the moment of Gustave III's death needs to be addressed. What political message might Auber and Scribe have hoped to convey by obscuring Gustave's assassination with such a display of hedonistic indulgence? The final tableau might, for instance, have depicted the sentencing and execution of Ankarström, which was after all, the ultimate outcome of Gustavus's assassination.[39] For those defending the current monarchy, such an image would have warned the public against the evils of regicide, and so the opera's political statement would have become more clearly defined.

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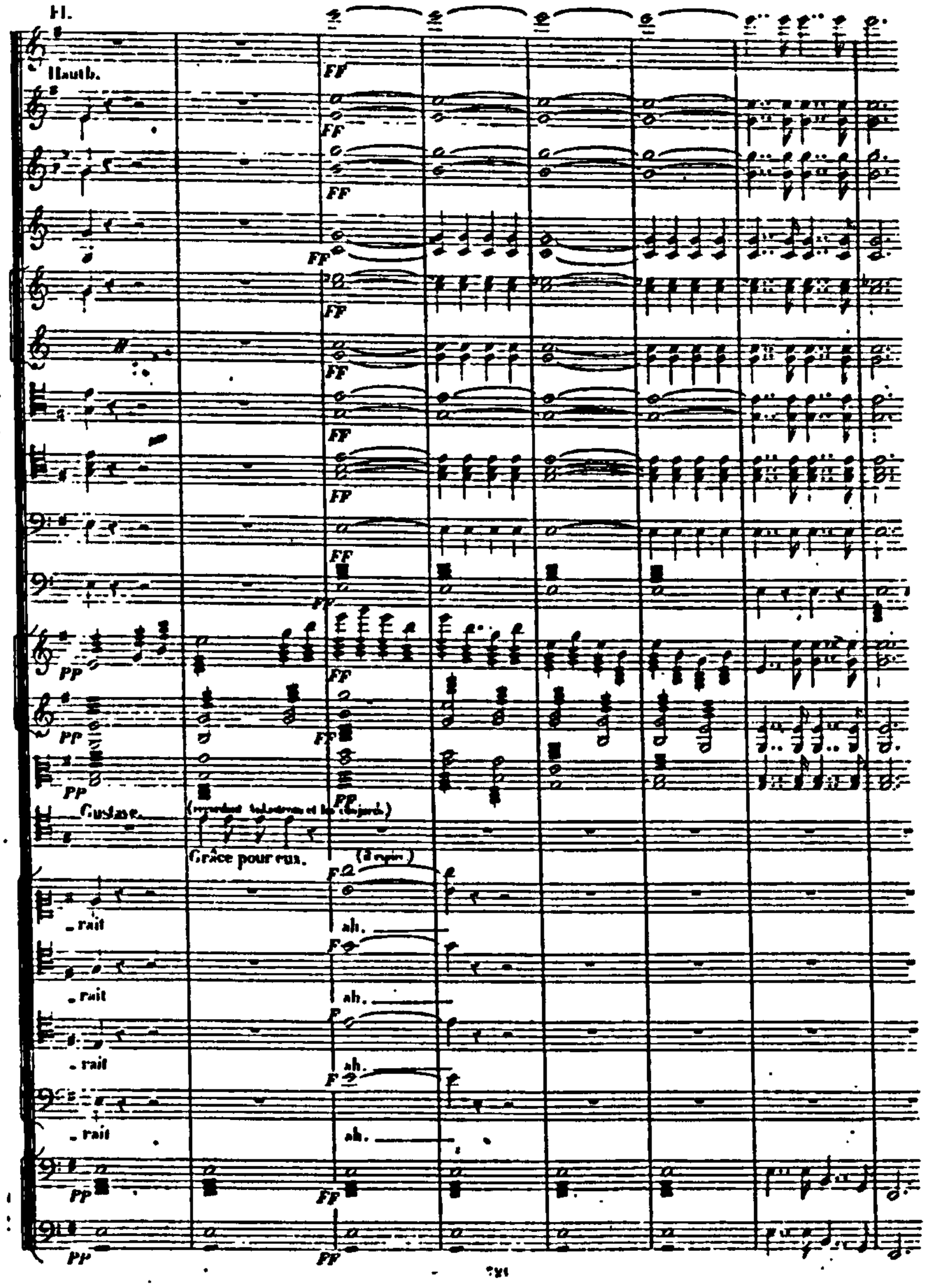
[38] St Matthew's gospel. The initially arch-royalist Chateaubriand, for example, wrote, 'The fatal 21 January 1793 was the dawn of the eternal mourning of France. The monarch, informed that he would have to die, prepared himself with serenity for this great act of his life' Chateaubriand, *Essai sur les révolutions*, ([orig. 1797]; Paris: Gallimard, 1978), p. 331, cited in Dunn, *The Deaths of Louis XVI*, p. 94.

[39] Johann Jacob Ankarström was executed barbarically (sentenced on 17 April 1792, he was whipped on 19, 20 and 21 April, his guilty hand was cut off and hung next to him, executed on 27 April), *Journal des débats* (1 March 1833). Léouzon refused to give a lengthy account of Ankarstrom's gruelling execution because he felt that to record it would be to add to the aura of martyrdom that had resulted from the severity of the punishment. He recounts, however, that the day after Ankarström's execution, an inscription was found hanging above the severed hand 'How happy the hand that saved the nation!' ['Bienheureuse la main qui a sauvé la patrie!'], Léouzon, *Les*

Ex. 29: Chorus - 'Grace pour eux, Ah'



Couronnes Sanglantes, p. 343-44. The *Courrier des théâtres* ran a series of historical essays about Gustavus's life and death in March 1833.

With regard to the quality of the music, Auber's formulaic style reigns supreme throughout the opera in his reliance on a small amount of rhythmic and melodic material that often repeats in block format.[40] Even after Auber has built up an impressive emotional intensity (through Amélie in the straw-drawing scene in particular), he dissolves the drama into banality. This brand of dramatic anticlimax illustrates Rosen's comment that 'The absurdity of much of the serious drama of the nineteenth century is a stumbling block to modern sensibility'.[41] Understanding this musical fodder of the nineteenth-century audience, irrevocably distanced as it is from modern tastes, requires a leap of faith according to Rosen: 'until the essential trashiness of the genre is faced, the extraordinary musical achievement will remain incomprehensible'.[42] Despite Rosen's magnanimity, the 'extraordinary musical achievement' of *Gustave III* may nevertheless be thought by a modern audience to be patchy at best.

It is indeed extraordinary to us that Auber's music for the ball scene should have contributed so definitively to the success of the opera during its early reception. The stylistic and qualitative distance between the music for the more intense narrative sections in Acts 1 to 4 (recitative or otherwise), and that for the *airs de danse* in Act 5 was vast, as we shall see in due course. Undoubtedly, the idea of disregarded artistic opportunity is implicit in the diatonic musical language that pervades these dances and restricts Auber's expressive palette to so great an extent.

Like many journals, the *Quotidienne* acknowledged that the opera was an excuse for a good party, laying the lion's share of its success at the door of the *mise en scène*, which

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[40] The fact that Auber's composition of *Gustave* was somewhat rushed was made known to the public by a journalist reviewing the première in 1833: 'A success in spite of a newspaper's critics offers a fair argument; and as M. Auber could employ it [the argument] with as much reason as M. Scribe, we hold that his music is excellent [...] we admit that for a score that was created in less than six weeks, one could not ask for better; because it appears well proved that in the month of last December, there were still no more than four complete pieces.' ['c'est un grand argument qu'un succès contre les critiques d'un feuilleton; et comme M. Auber pourrait l'employer avec autant de raison que M. Scribe, nous tiendrons sa musique pour excellente [...] nous conviendreons que pour une partition faite en moins de six semaines, on ne pouvait pas exiger mieux; car il paraît bien prouvé qu'au mois de décembre dernier il n'y avait pas encore quatre morceax terminés'], *Quotidienne* (18 March 1833). It was true that Auber was still composing music for the last three acts while rehearsals were under way, and the speed of composition may have contributed to the patchiness of the musical quality.

[41] Rosen, *The Romantic Generation*, p. 604-5.

[42] Rosen, *The Romantic Generation*, p. 605.

outshone the dramatic scenario as well as the music.[43] The *Quotidienne* journalist considered the music to be inconsequential ('peu de chose'), and admitted after seven performances: 'justice dictates that we recognise the work to be nothing more than the happy pretext to unfurl a very luxurious and royal pomp'.[44] This pejorative aesthetic judgement against the whole opera casts aside the biting drama of the seance with Arvedsen, that of the meeting under the gibbet, and of the straw-drawing scene. It indicates the extent to which the lighter dramatic elements blinded the audience's appreciation of the rest of the work, and the extent to which royalty ('royal pomp') luxury and dance were entwined. Auber, it seems, was adept at handling what Charles Rosen describes as 'the full-scale vulgarity that the new grand opera demanded'.[45]

Rosen sums up the quality of scenes such as the masked ball in *Gustave III*:

> Like the Western - and the Elizabethan revenge tragedy of Kyd, Marlowe, Tourneur, and Shakespeare - ninteteenth-century opera in France and Italy is closer to junk than to high art or folk art. We cannot escape the normative connotation of these terms, but it should be evident from these examples that there can be great trash, just as there is bad high art.[46]

Rosen points to an important alternative criterion for understanding the opera of the early nineteenth century - one which matches our modern day affinity to the unsophisticated rhythmic propulsion found in popular music, in which the element of unenquiring collectivity is favoured at the expense of intellectual challenge.

The lengthy dances in *Gustave III*, like the *divertissements* in *Les Pages du Duc de*

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[43] 'Seven brilliant and productive performances of the opera *Gustave* have confirmed the fashionable success of this work for three months; but the composer and poet should come and give their laurels to the director.' ['Sept représentations brillantes et productives de l'opéra de Gustave ont consacré le succès de vogue de cet ouvrage pour trois mois; mais il faut que musicien et poète viennent déposer leurs lauriers au directeur.'] *Quotidienne* (18 March 1833).

[44] 'The impression and strangeness of the spectacle have reduced the merit of the poem and the score to insignificance; the accessory has contributed hugely to the principal, and justice dictates that we recognise that the work was nothing more than the happy pretext to unfurl a very luxurious and royal pomp' ['L'éclat et l'étrangeté du spectacle ont réduit à peu de chose le mérite du poème et de la partition; l'accessoire l'a emporté de beaucoup sur le principal, et la justice veut qu'on reconnaisse que la pièce n'a été qu'un heureux prétexte pour déployer un luxe et une pompe toute royale.'], *Quotidienne* (18 March, 1833).

[45] Rosen puts Rossini's demise down to his 'refined and aristocratic sensibility' and his being 'unable to muster the full-scale vulgarity that the new grand opera demanded' Rosen, *The Romantic Generation*, p. 607.

[46] Rosen, *The Romantic Generation*, p. 604.

Vendôme, caused such a serious breach of dramatic continuity that the breach itself became the focus of the drama.[47] Since dance music was not expected to attain the same intellectual interest as high-operatic music, the audience's collusion in this intellectually compromising display is key to understanding the acute social desire for emotional and physical release.

The responsibility for the extended ball scene in *Gustave III* seems to have been with Auber. Far from offering a satirical comment on the quality of the music of contemporary balls, Auber's enthusiasm for the dance-scenes in *Gustave III* was seemingly unequivocal. Henry Blaze de Bury commented: 'M. Auber loves dance with a predilection, and I have heard him say in the past that he would like to end his musical career with a ballet'.[48] Although the music of the dances stands apart as the least sophisticated in the opera, it evidently fulfilled his audience's expectations.

Auber's fetish for dance had not always been superficial: Fenella the eponymous heroine in *La Muette* (being unable to speak or sing), had danced right into the epicentre of volcanic political tensions. Her role provided a clear metaphor for the inaudible voice of the politically disempowered. Auber's ballroom scene of 1833 had a similarly explosive effect, and like that for *La Muette*, the public reaction was equally fervent.

Auber's masked ball scene, which mimics the form of a *divertissement*, consists of six dances: *Allemande*, *Pas des folies*, *Menuet*, two marches and the *Galop*. The stage of *Gustave III* was cluttered with more than three hundred people, while over a hundred took part in the break-neck gallop.[49] The ball scene is introduced and ended with the rousing

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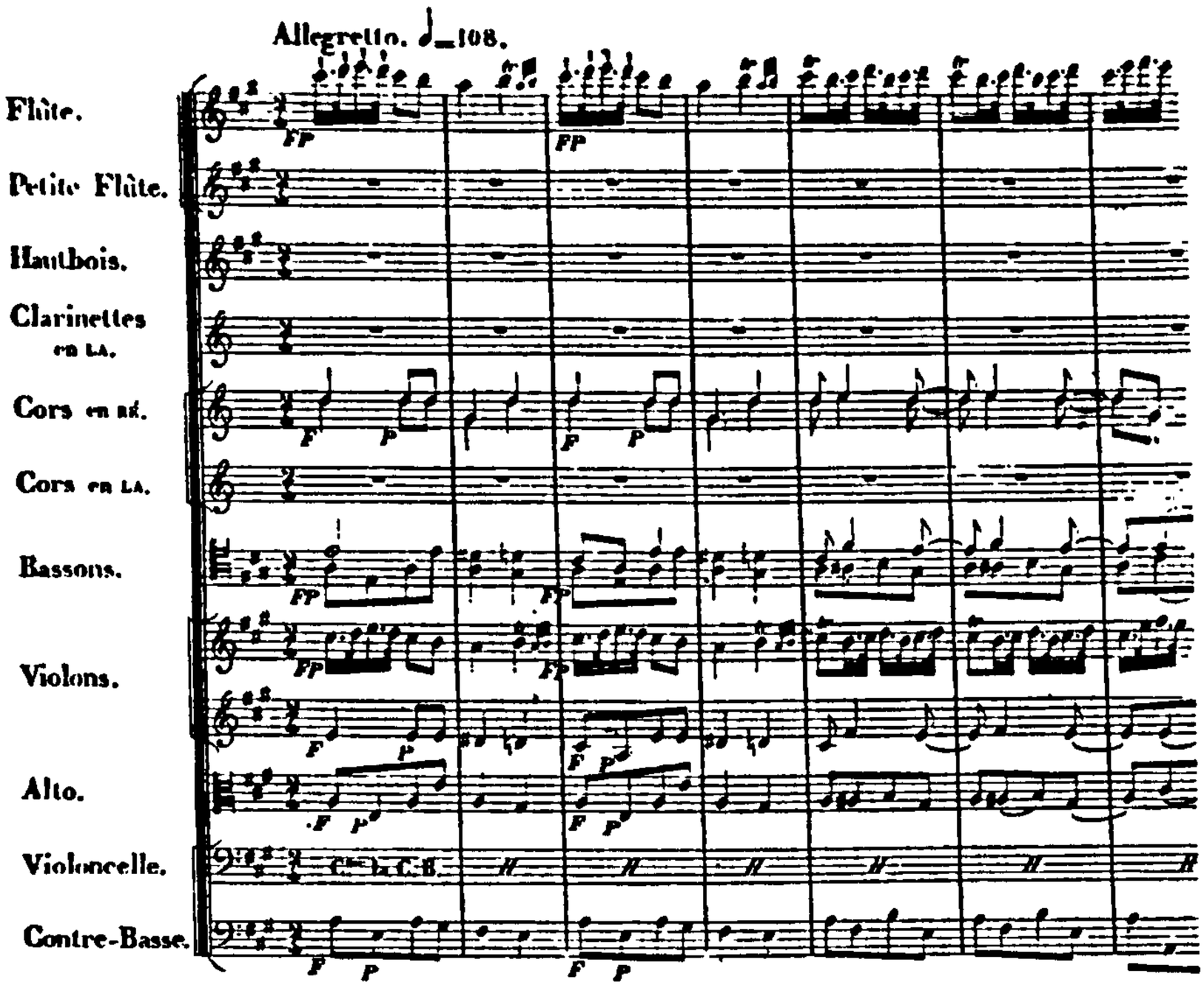
[47] See Maribeth Clark's study of contemporary perceptions of dance forms in Grand Opéra, including *Gustave III* in *Understanding French Grand Opera through Dance* (PhD diss.: University of Pennsylvania, 1998).

[48] 'M. Auber aime la danse avec prédilection, et je lui ai jadis entendu dire qu'il voulait finir sa carrière musicale par un ballet', Henry Blaze de Bury, *Musiciens contemporains* (Paris: Lévy, 1856), p. 157-158.

[49] The *galop* was evidently a dangerous dance. Apponyi described a potentially serious accident that took place at a high-society ball in 1833: 'to finish the *cotillon*, I ordered a galop. We were about fifteen men turning faster and faster. I was placed between the Duc d'Orléans and the Comte de Morny. These two gentlemen, unable to hold me, let me go, and there I was, launched as if by a catapult, from one end of the gallery to the other, and underneath a bench. My fall made an amazing noise, as did the cries of all the ladies who, seeing me launched with an incredible force, believed that my head, my arms and my legs had been fricasseed. Luckily, my fall had made more noise than harm. I picked myself up so quickly that the dance formation was still in the position I had left it in. Everybody surrounded me; they questioned me; the Duc d'Orléans made thousands and thousands of apologies; but not feeling the least pain, I had them continue the galop' ['pour finir le cotillon, j'ordonne un galop. Nous étions une quinzaine d'hommes tournant de plus en plus vite. J'étais placé entre le duc d'Orléans et le comte de Morny. Ces deux messieurs, ne pouvant plus me tenir, me lâchent, et me voilà lancé comme par une fronde, d'un bout de la galerie à l'autre, jusque sous

drinking chorus 'Plaisir, amour, ivresse, soirée enchanteresse' ('Pleasure, love, inebriation, enchanting evening'). Auber's instrumentation for his dances was related to current real-life practices. The banality of the *air de danse* genre places a limitation on Auber's creativity. The *Menuet* provides a memorable hint of the eighteenth century, with its stately, decorative tune (see Ex. 30). Unusually, Auber's *Menuet* is in 2/4, an anomalous choice of time signature that is difficult to explain:

Ex. 30: Air de Danse - Menuet



The *Galop* brings the music up to date with its rumbustious rhythmic drive (see Ex. 31):

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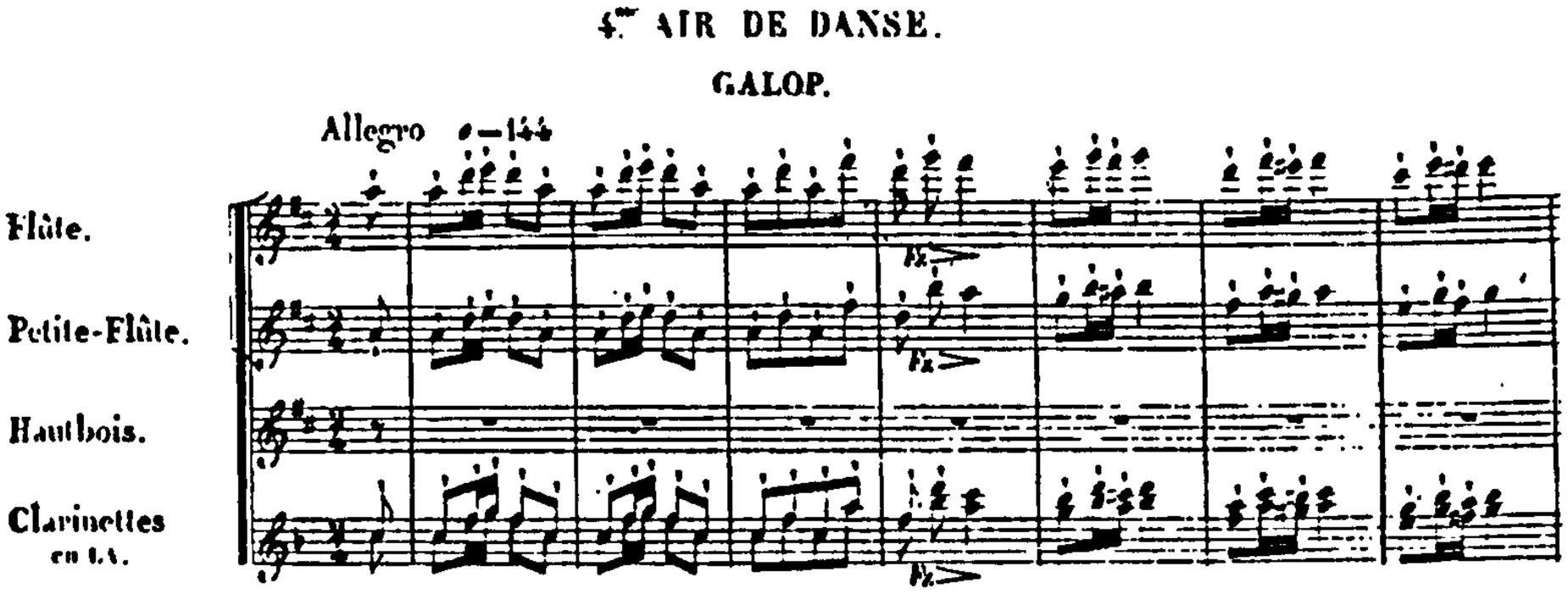
une banquette. Ma chute fit un bruit épouvantable ainsi que les cris de toutes les dames qui me voyant lancé avec une incroyable force croyaient que ma tête, mes bras et jambes étaient fricassés. Heureusement, ma chute a fait plus de bruit que de mal. Je m'étais relevé si vite que le rond se trouvait encore dans l'attitude où je l'avais laissé. Tout le monde m'entoura; on me questionna; le duc d'Orléans me fit mille et mille excuses; mais n'éprouvant pas le moindre mal, je fis continuer le galop.'], Apponyi, *Journal*, vol. 2, p. 336-7 (18 February 1833).

Ex. 31: ***Air de Danse - Galop***



The cult of society balls (and most especially those given at the Opéra) had reached a high point in Paris by 1833, and the public was aided in its enthusiasm through the lowering of the fee for admission to balls at the Opéra from ten to five francs.[50] While ballroom music on the one hand quoted from the increasingly romantic operatic repertoire, it was on the other hand fundamentally anti-romantic in its blend of lightweight sentiment and driving optimism.[51] Such music was polarised between the sentimental and brash, and it relied on fast-driven and short-lived bursts of energy that were free from cluttering detail. The orchestral profile for dance music was aimed at maximum transparency. The selection of musical instruments was determined by the number of people present, and by the ensuing noise level. In order that the rhythm and melody could be audible above the sounds of moving dancers and the general uproar, harsher sonorities were needed for larger balls.[52] The penetrating resonance of flutes, flageolets and cornets added brilliance to violins, basses and percussion instruments.[53] Bearing in mind the numbers of people involved in the masked ball

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[50] Philip Mansel, *Paris Between the Empires (1814-1848)* (London: John Murray, 2001), text accompanying his Plate 31.

[51] See the repertoire published in collections by Tolbecque such as *Trois quadrilles de contredanses ... sur Robert le Diable* (s. d.), Bibliothèque Nationale, Musique (shelfmark: K. 47895).

[52] Published collections of dances regularly specified the same groups of instruments. At modest gatherings, sets of dances were played on instruments with lightweight timbres, such as string quartets with additional flutes and harps. At balls that numbered several hundred attendees, the instrumental groups tended to be scattered among several ballrooms, each with their own 'orchestra' of instruments with more penetrating timbres.

[53] Instruments of an exotic nature were evidently introduced into the Restoration ballroom. Collinet (who had been *Directeur d'orchestre des bals de la Cour, de la Ville et de ceux de S. A. R. Mme Duchesse de Berry*), was also the holder of a shop that specialised in dance music. He listed some of

of *Gustave III*, a concern for orchestral clarity accounts for the lightweight tailoring of its music. In stylising the music of the ballroom scene like that heard at contemporaneous social dances, the opera not only adhered to the rules of verisimilitude, but it won over its audience members by paying homage to their fetishistic appreciation of dance music.

With its clarity of instrumentation and its strongly rhythmic propulsion, the ball music also drew on military influences. The choreography at balls also ingested much of the prowess associated with military *gloire*, and naturally *La Marche* was a favourite ball number.[54] Such music was infinitely suited to the parade-like formations, geometric disciplines (square set for the *quadrille*) and formal designs that relied on the simple rhetorical principle of suggestion and response, antecedent and consequent.[55] This militaristic element contributed to the combative atmosphere; it set the scene for dance partners to spar against each other in a secure arena - a bullfight in a bullring experiencing the adrenaline 'for the kill', where the incentives for self-gratification may have been ignoble, but the aesthetic façade was elegant. Ball music, like military music, provoked physical rather than psychological responses. The adaptation of emotional or dramatic themes from operas within the ballroom was, therefore, probably not intended to superimpose an emotional value, merely forming a veneer above what was a ritualised dance tradition. Again, rather than suggesting a critique of contemporary ballroom music, Auber was celebrating it (see Ex. 32).

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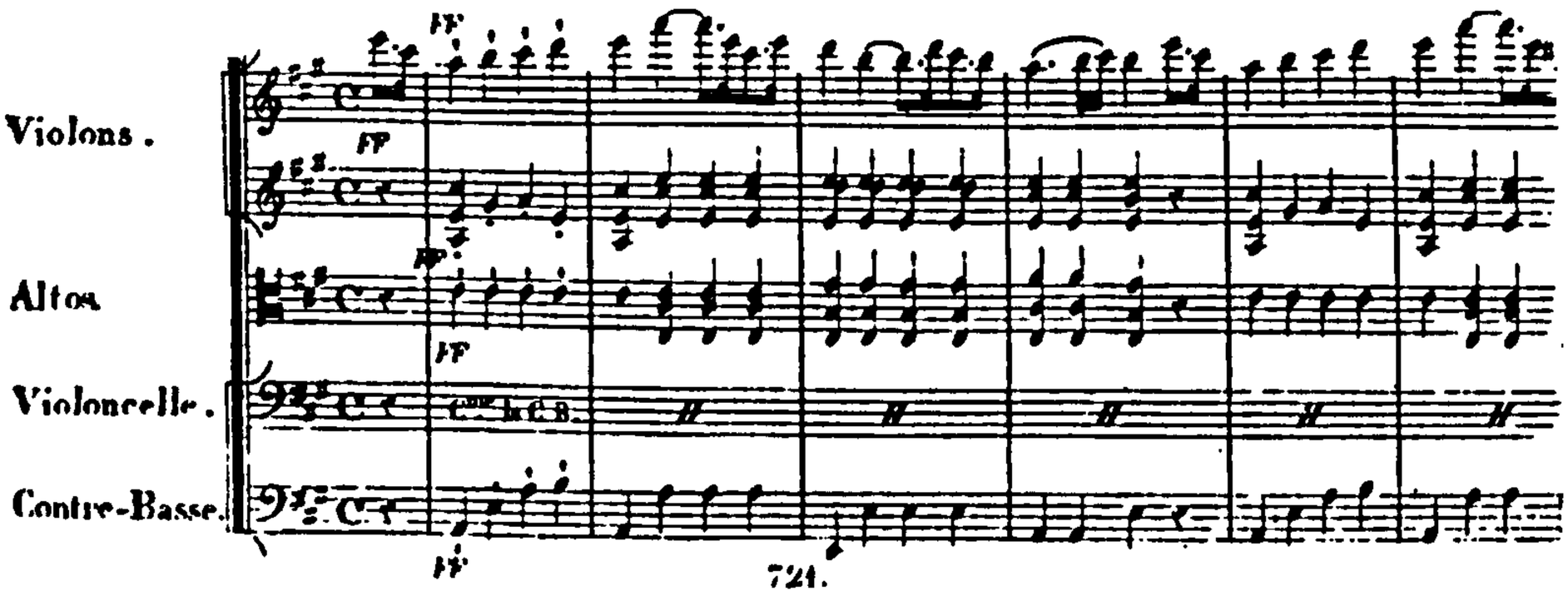
his wares in the *avis* to a collection of his published dances: 'strings from Naples, rosin, ruled paper, clarinet and bassoon reeds, Turkish cymbals, triangles, drums from the Basque region, tuning forks, flageolets with keys, and others, all at a fair price' ['Cordes de Naples, Colophane, Papier règlé, Anches de Clarinettes et Basson, Cymbales de turquie, Triangles, Tambours de basque, Diapasons, Flageolets a clés et autres, le tout à juste prix'], *Soirées de familles,* no. 20 of *Contredanses et Walses en quatuor*, Bibliothèque Nationale, Opéra (shelfmark: ♩ 3887, I-II, I). In June 1825 Collinet had moved establishment to the Place du Louvre where, in addition to the hardware and published music he offered, he advised: 'a private room will be made available to those who desire to make orchestral arrangements of ball music.' ['une pièce particulière sera mise à la disposition des personnes qui desiront [*sic*] faire des arrangements d'orchestre de bals']. The offer suggests that his establishment worked on the same principle as a reference library. In addition to Collinet, Troupenas and Tolbecque were highly successful publishers of dance music.

[54] The military influence in the ballroom was also evident in England, particularly in the wake of the Napoleonic wars. A Cruikshank cartoon of a *quadrille* from 1817 subtitled *'Bobbin' about to the fiddle, preparation for a trip to Margate!'* shows a family improving its dance skills at home. The daughter calls out: 'Law Pa that's just as when you was drilling for the Whitechapel Brigade' Bibliothèque Nationale, Opéra, Estampes (shelfmark: Rés Danse 27, Quadrille 22), dated 1817.

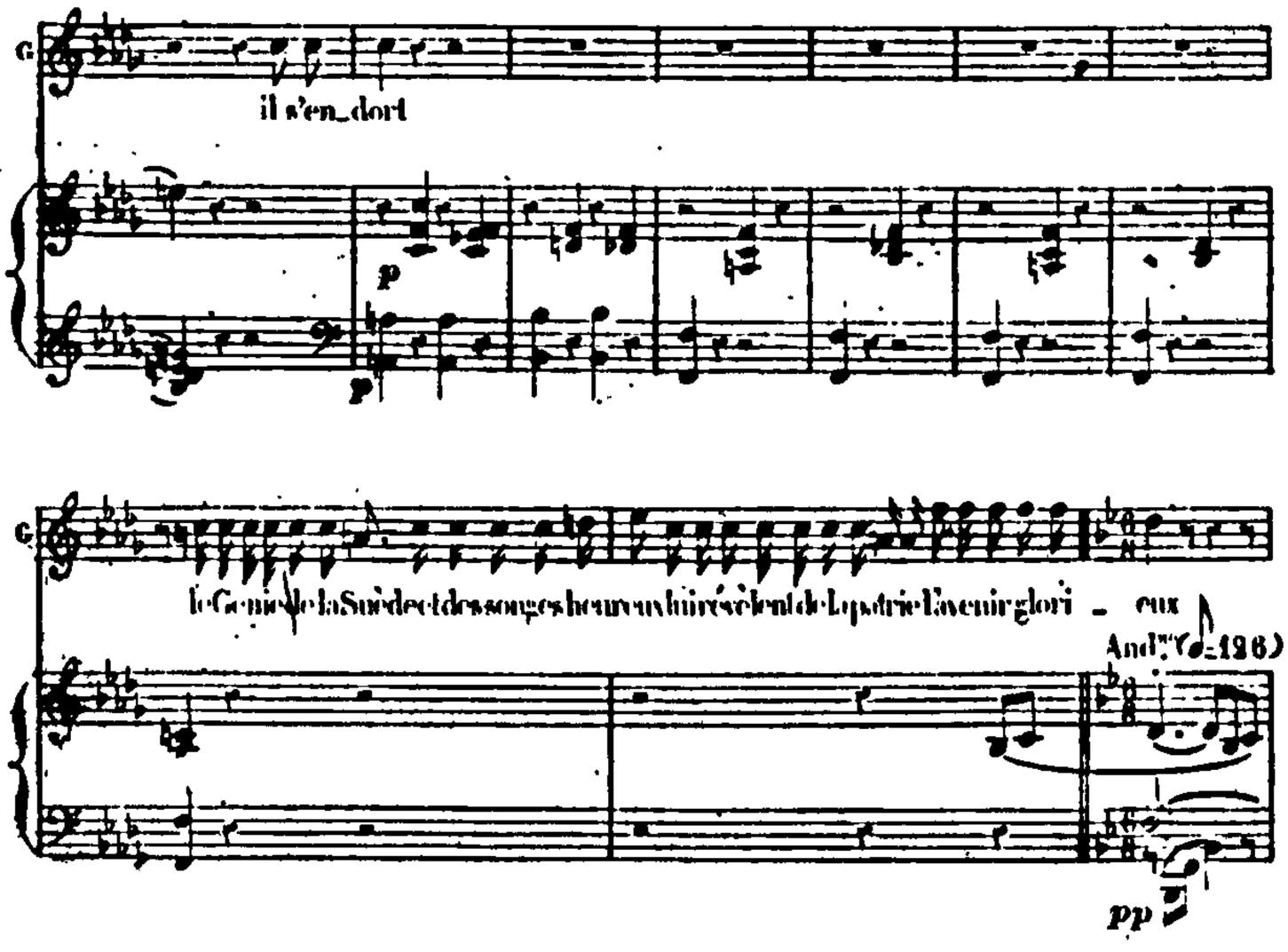
[55] See Lamb, 'Quadrille', *New Grove Dictionary of Music*, 2nd ed.

Ex. 32: *1re Marche*



In this reenactment of Gustavus III's assassination, we must inevitably question the extent to which Auber's music was attentive to historical styles in this opera. The dance tunes in Act 5 exhibited obvious stylistic qualities of the eighteenth century (the *Minuet*, with its elegant lilting filigree motif, in particular). Certainly Auber's reference in Act 1 to Gustave's own productions of *Gustave Wasa* made a claim for historical verisimilitude; Gustave directs a short scene in which Gustave Wasa falls into a reverie (see Ex. 33). This historical reference also pointed to the fact that the aristocrats attending Gustavus III's ball in 1793, like those attending Auber's opera in 1833 (or more accurately around 1828, when Scribe wrote the libretto), were concerned with historical propaganda.

Ex. 33: Gustave - *Songe*



Importantly, one particularly important musical reference appears to have come into play within the score: a reference based on historical fact that was readily acknowledged within the press of 1833. According to the historical research of a journalist of the *Journal des débats* in 1833, as the assassination of Gustavus III had taken place in March 1792, a band had been playing dances on the chanson '*Ah! Ça ira, ça ira, ça ira!*' ('Ah! It will be, it will be, it will be!'), that was then at the height of its vogue.[56] Léouzon made a reference to the popularity of the song in Sweden during the time of the French Revolution: 'The noble officers of the guard clapped their hands to *Ça ira!*'.[57] It was indeed ironic that it was the Swedish nobility rather than socialist revolutionary forces that was the driving force behind Gustavus's removal. While Auber did not insert the song directly into his score (as *Vive Henri IV* had so frequently been incorporated into different genres), he may well be interpreted to have made a discreet reference to it in the *Galop* of the Act 5 ball scene. As the

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[56] *Journal des débats* (1 March 1833). The evolution of this politically subversive song is outlined in Duneton, *Histoire de la chanson*, vol. 2, p. 109-113. The melody is cited in P. Capelle ['fondateur du caveau moderne'], *La Clé du caveau, à l'usage des chansonniers français et étrangers des amateurs, auteurs, acteurs, chefs d'orchestre* [...] *quatrième edition* (Paris: Cotelle, 1872), no. 947.

political history of *Ça ira!* offers an important pointer to the politically charged atmosphere of the Swedish opera house, we will examine briefly the history behind the song before describing this possible musical reference.

In 1790, only a couple of years before Gustavus III's assassination, the text of *Ça ira!* (ascribed to a Monsieur Ladré) was set to a *contredanse* called the *Carillon national* with music by Bécourt (see Ex. 34). The song had risen to intense popularity when it was sung during the landscaping of the Champ de Mars (what we know today as the park surrounding the Tour Eiffel). The Champ had been selected by the Parisian authorities in 1790 for the celebrations of the first anniversary of the fall of the Bastille, but plans had fallen behind. For around a week before 14 July 1790, the people of Paris amassed spontaneously with buckets, spades and wheelbarrows to help complete the project. The song *Ça ira!* with its energised, driving rhythms, became the musical accompaniment to what became known as 'Les Travaux du Champ de Mars' ('The work on the Champ de Mars').

Ah! Ça ira, ça ira, ça ira!	Ah! It will be, it will be, it will be!
Le peuple, en ce jour, sans cesse répète:	The people repeat continually on this day:
Ah! Ça ira, ça ira, ça ira!	Ah! It will be, it will be, it will be!
Malgré les mutins tout réussira!	In spite of the rebels everything will succeed!
Nos ennemis confus en restent là:	Our confused enemies will stay where they are:
Et nous allons chanter alleluia!	And we will sing alleluia!
Ah! Ça ira, ça ira, ça ira![1]	Ah! It will be, it will be, it will be!

As a result of its civic associations, *Ça ira!* became the popular hymn to the people's Revolutionary success, and it was recorded as such in lithographs of 'Les Travaux du Champ de Mars', some of which were inscribed with the words 'Ça ira!'. One example (*Confédération Nationale du 14 juillet*) paired the words of *Vive Henri IV* with those of *Ça ira!* (see Plate 13).[58]

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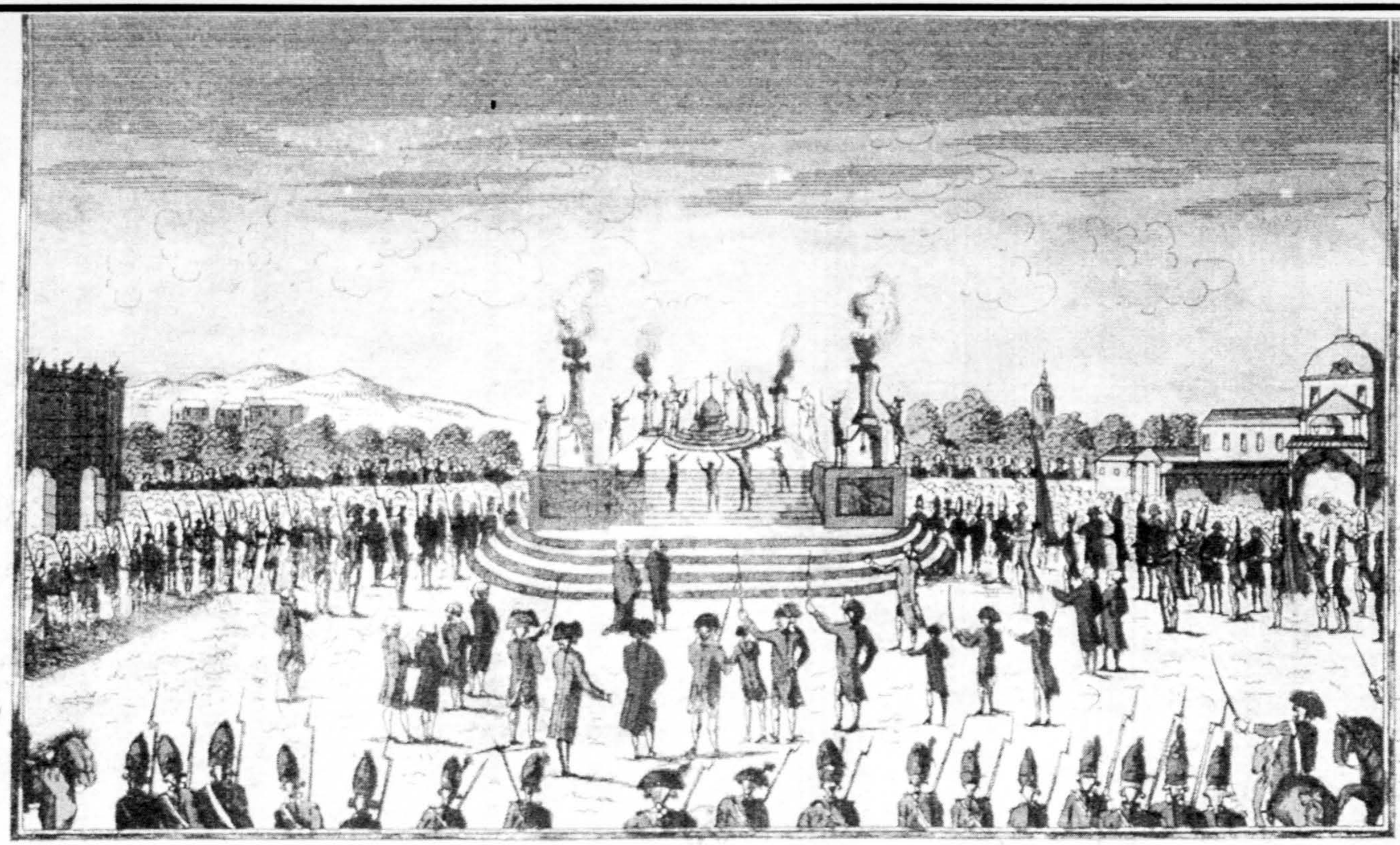
[57] 'Les officiers nobles de la garde battaient des mains au *Ça ira!*' Léouzon, *Les Couronnes Sanglantes*, p. 316.

[58] For *Confédération Nationale du 14 juillet*, see François-Louis Bruel, *Un siècle d'histoire de France par l'estampe 1770-1871, Collection de Vinck. Inventaire analytique*, vol. 2 'La Constituante' (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, Département des Estampes, 1914), no. 3754. For a series of lithographs on 'Les Travaux du Champ de Mars' see *Collection de Vinck*, vol. 2, no. 3750 (which

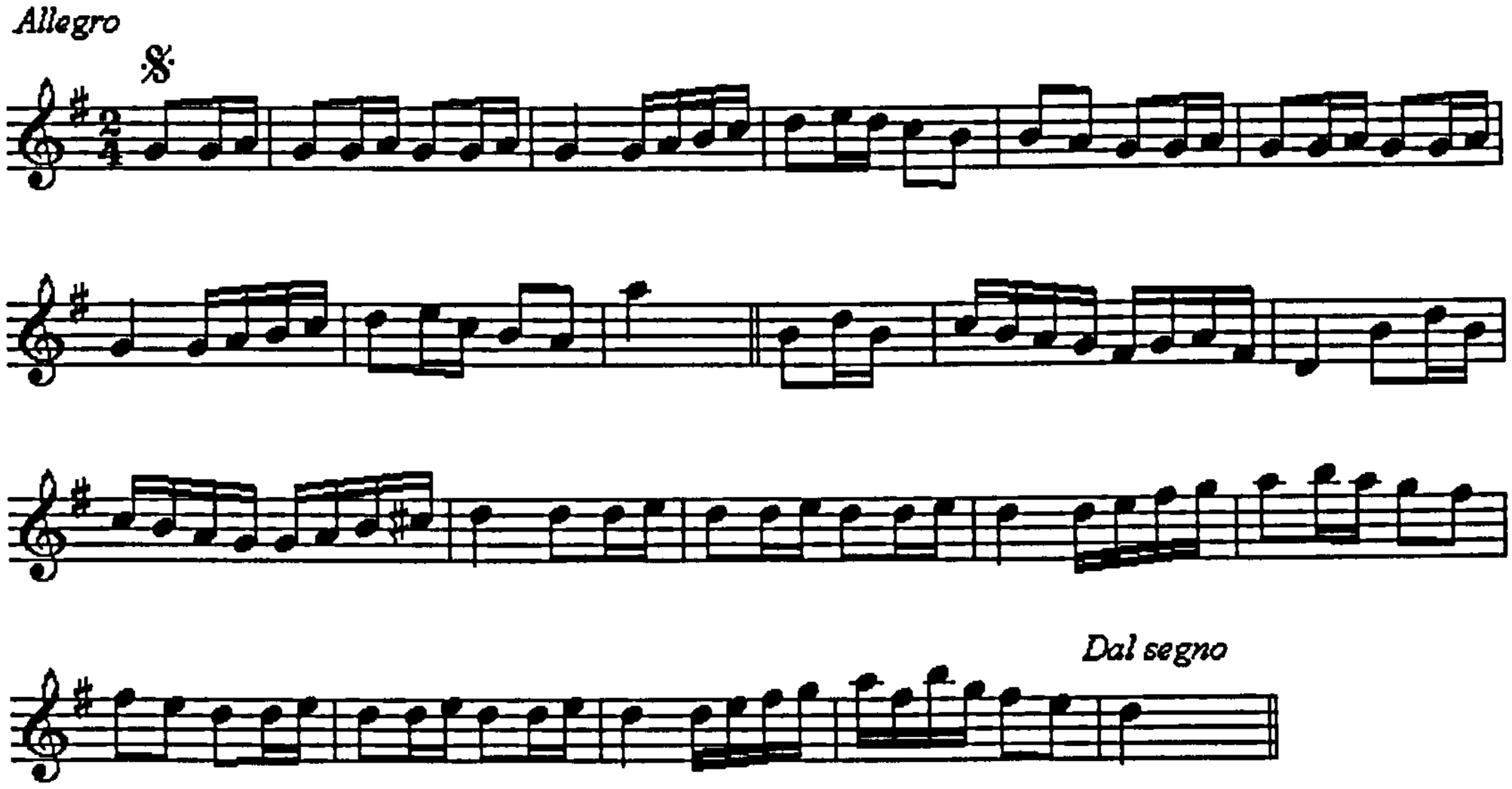


Aux deux Soutiens de la Liberté

Vive la Nation, la Loi et le Roi

Plate 13: Confédération Nationale du 14 juillet 1790.

Ex. 34: Ça ira! Ça ira! (1790) on the melody Le Carillon national de Bécourt



The text of 1790 soon became adulterated alongside the heightening anti-aristocratic sentiments of the early 1790s, and was to become equally a favourite of those in favour of the regicide. The lively *Carillon national*, to which the fearful new words of *Ça ira!* were set, had been a favourite of Marie-Antoinette. In a horrible irony it had been sung under the queen's window in the Temple prison as she awaited her execution.[59] By 1792 the following verse had been added:

Ah! Ça ira, ça ira, ça ira!	Ah! It will be, it will be, it will be!
Les aristocrates à la lanterne;	The aristocrats strung up;
Ah! Ça ira, ça ira, ça ira!	Ah! It will be, it will be, it will be!
Les aristocrates on les pendra;	The aristocrats, we will hang them;
Et quand on les aura tous pendus,	And when we have hung them all,
On leur fich'ra la pelle au cul.	We will stick the shovels up their backsides.
Ah! Ça ira, ça ira, ça ira![1]	Ah! It will be, it will be, it will be!

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mentions the *Carillon national*), and no. 3723 and no. 3728 (which both include different texts for *Vive Henri IV*).

[59] Marie-Antoinette was executed on 16 October 1793.

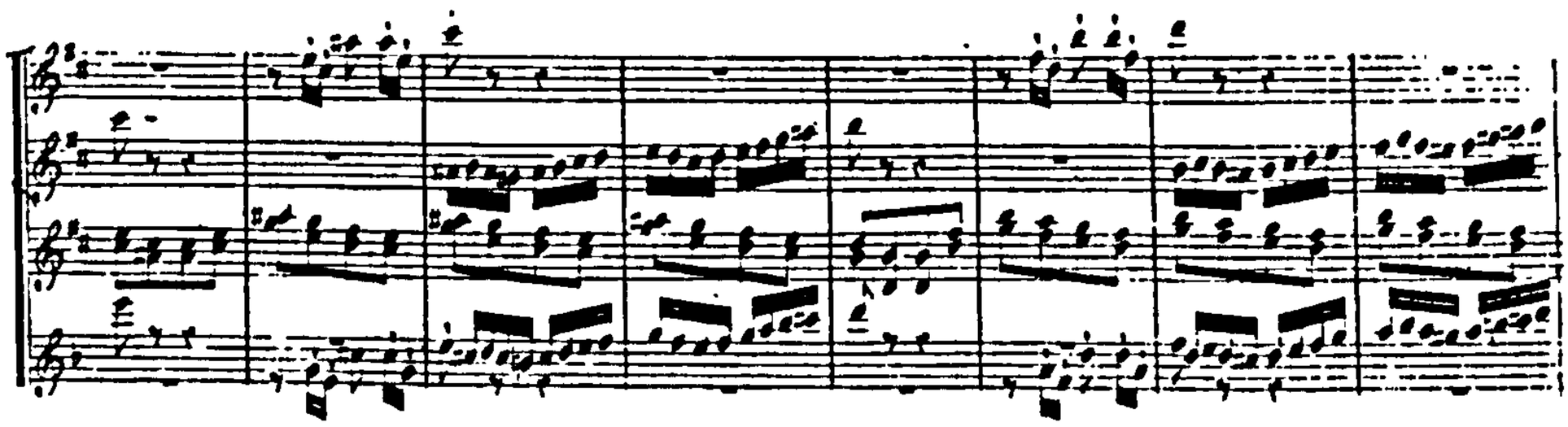
Ça ira! had, therefore, already been steeped in two years of Revolutionary fervour before it was heard at Gustavus III's calamitous ball in 1792. The *Journal des débats* of 1 March 1833 considered the playing of this insurrectionist song at Gustave's masked ball to be extraordinary. It expressed a wish that Auber should have inserted it directly into *Gustave III*.

> It seems to me that *the famous ça ira!* played gauchely in a corner during the death of Gustave, would have made a reasonably big impression in a work prepared with greater awareness and more care. Do you not find it strange and dramatic, as I do, the precaution of the Swedish conspirators who wanted to kill their king to music, and *who had expressly brought from France the famous Ça ira! Ça ira!*[60]

This comment, published in 1833, provided crucial information for any members of Auber's audience that were ignorant of the political import of *Ça ira!*

Even though Auber cannot be said to have quoted the tune overtly, the driving force and the ubiquitous rhythmic quaver-semiquaver motion in his *Galop* is strikingly reminiscent of the opening motif of *Ça ira!* (see Ex. 31). More intriguingly, however, Auber's *Galop* contains motivic interjections that seem to mimic the *Ça ira!* motif (see Ex. 35). These occur on instruments whose tone cuts through the orchestral fabric, offering disturbing shudders of recognition.

Ex. 35: *Galop* motif as reminiscent of *Ça ira!* (woodwind)



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[60] 'Il me semble que *le fameux ça ira!* joué gauchement dans un coin pendant la mort de Gustave, aurait été d'un assez grand effet dans une partition travaillée avec plus de conscience et de soin. Ne trouvez-vous pas comme moi étrange et dramatique cette précaution des conjurés suédois qui veulent tuer leur roi en musique, et qui *font venir tout exprès de France le fameux ça ira! ça ira!*' *Journal des débats* (1 March 1833). The italics belong to the journalist.

If these interjections represented a discreet historical reference to *Ça ira!*, then, given the anti-monarchical stance of the song, this would indicate an intended historical musical resonance, on the part of Auber, if not a subverted political comment. Given the inherently hypnotic nature of *Ça ira!*, the similarity between Auber's galop and the Revolutionary song alone offers an important key to understanding the audience's fervent reception of the operatic galop, as well as an explanation for the public's drug-like trance during the ball scene, and for the enduring appeal of Auber's *Galop* throughout the turbulent nineteenth century.

It was not only the music of the masked ball in *Gustave* that caught the audience's imagination. An impassioned reviewer from the *Journal des débats* conveyed some of Paris's absorption in the work's visual spectacle, describing it as:

> [...] the most dazzling and the most marvellous thing that I have seen for a long time [...] it's an unheard of profusion of women, of gauze, of velvet, of the grotesque, of elegance, of good and bad taste.[61]

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[61] The excerpt is worth quoting at length: 'The most dazzling and the most marvellous that one has seen in a long time [...]. I do not believe that, even at the Opéra, one has ever seen a grander, richer, more curious, more magnificent spectacle, than the fifth act of the *Bal masqué*. It is an incredible profusion of women, of gauze, of velvet, of grotesquerie, of elegance, of good taste, of bad taste, of meticulous detail, of research, of spirit, of madness and of verve, and of all those things, in one word, of which the eighteenth century was composed. When the beautiful canvas of which I spoke just before is lifted, you find yourself in an immense ballroom, which accomodates the whole of the Opéra company, one of the vastest stages in Europe. The whole ballroom is surrounded by boxes, and these boxes are full of masks that watch; at their feet is an immense crowd of disguises of every genre, dominos of all colours, harlequins of all types, clowns, merchants, what else? One is disguised as a barrel, the other is disguised as a guitar; his neighbour is disguised as a bunch of asparagus; that one is disguised as a mirror, this one as a fish; there is one dressed as a cockerel, another as a pendulum: you would not believe what infinite confusion! [...] it is a spectacle to ravish the eyes. Then, above all this world of fools and beautiful women [...] two thousand lighted candles in great crystal chandeliers, which flood the entire stage with their hundred thousand gleams' ['L'œuvre la plus éblouissante et la plus merveilleuse que vous ayez vue depuis long-temps [...]. Je ne crois pas que jamais, même à l'Opéra, on ait vu un spectacle plus grand, plus riche, plus curieux, plus magnifique, que le cinquième acte du *Bal masqué*. C'est une profusion inouïes de femmes, de gaze, de velours, de grotesque, d'élégance, de bon goût, de mauvais goût, de minuties, de recherches, d'esprit, de folie et de verve, de toutes les choses, en un mot, qui composaient le dix-huitième siècle. Quand la belle toile dont je vous parlais tout à l'heure est levée, vous vous trouvez tout à coup dans une immense salle de bal qui tient tout le théâtre de l'Opéra, une des scènes les plus vastes de l'Europe. Toute cette salle de bal est entourée de loges, ces loges sont remplies de masques qui regardent; à leurs pieds, c'est une foule immense de déguisemens de tout genre, dominos de toutes couleurs, arlequins de toutes les façons, paillasses, marchands, que sais-je? L'un est déguisé en tonneau, l'autre est déguisé en guitare; son voisin est déguisé en botte d'asperges; celui-là est déguisé en miroir, celle-là est tout poisson; il y en a un qui est coq, l'autre est pendule: vous ne sauriez croire quelle confusion infinie! [...] c'est un spectacle à ravir les yeux. Puis au dessus de tout ce monde de fous et de belles femmes [...] deux mille bougies allumées dans de

Bal de l'Opéra.

Plate 14: Bal de l'Opéra.

The journalist celebrated the effect given by the raising of the curtain on the ball scene: 'you suddenly find yourself in an immense ballroom that embraces the entire opera theatre, like one of Europe's vastest stages. Suddenly this ballroom is surrounded by boxes, and these boxes are brimming with masks looking out; at their feet is an immense crowd disguised in every manner' (see a contemporary engraving in Plate 14: *Bal de l'Opéra*).[62] We can imagine that the real audience was stunned by its mirror image - surrounded by an exhilarating optical effect. Confronted by 'itself', the audience lost all sense of reality, and the theatrical arena became a circle that captivated or, literally, captured its audience. The ball scene gave the impression that actors were watching the audience and that, in a further confusion of roles, the present was being watched by the past.[63]

Certainly, the effect of the sudden change of dramatic dynamic between performers and audience in this ball scene seems to have been deeply affecting. Here were members of a real-life audience watching a staged audience's reaction to performing dancers; they were voyeurs watching voyeurs, and both the real and fictional audience could sense the whirl of the erupting dance-floor. They were suspended from reality within the embracing shape of the auditorium, captured, as it were, in a dynamic capsule, and like Narcissus transfixed by their own reflection. As the dance circled and was encircled by spectators, so the auditorium encircled the dancers and their audience. Having lost their foothold on the path to self-comprehension, those witnessing Gustave's ball had become witnesses and collaborators in Gustave's murder.

While Charles Rosen talks of Grand Opera in terms of its 'hypnotic driving rhythms', the ball scene in *Gustave III* might well also be compared to a *danse macabre*.[64] Not only, however, does *Gustave*'s dance become symbolic of a contemporary society that

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grands lustres de cristal, et qui inondent toute la scène de leur cent mille clartés.'], *Journal des débats* (1 March 1833).

[62] *Bal de l'Opéra*, Bibliothèque Nationale (shelfmark: Estampes, Dc 49).

[63] Closer to modern experience, we are reminded too of Alfred Hitchcock's *Rear Window* (1954) in which the voyeur is unperceived by his neighbour until 'the final act'. The reverse scenario is presented in Roman Polanski's *The Tenant* (1976), in which a man imagines he is being watched by surreal and menacing neighbours who haunt him with memories of his own past.

[64] Rosen, *The Romantic Generation*, p. 607. An appropriate analogy is Baudelaire's *Danse macabre*, no. 12 of his *Tableaux Parisiens* in *Les Fleurs du mal* (1857), Baudelaire, *Les Fleurs du mal* (Paris: Pierre Belfond, 1965), p. 259-260. Christopher Prendergast identifies in the poem 'the writhing movements of a body in pain, or a kind of *danse macabre*' Prendergast, *Paris and the Nineteenth Century*, p. 132-3.

was spinning out of control, but within the opera's broader fabric the concept of historical representation itself teeters on the edge of a crisis. The historical product that *Gustave III* offered was a hybrid of entertainment and fact.[65]

Verisimilitude, fantasy and metaphor

Certainly the nostalgia inspired by *Gustave* seemed to have awoken in some Parisians a sense of historical duty and respect for their *ancien-régime* predecessors. Aware of the antipathy that had existed between the real Ankarström and Gustavus, a journalist from the *Quotidienne* regretted the loss of 'historical truth' within the opera, especially for a period 'that is so close to our own'. He suggested that concerns about the opera's historical compromise were neutralised by its successful reception:

> The work, like a lyric structure and a dramatic scaffold, is one of the author's best. Perhaps one could have required that, in a large work of the heroic genre, a gallant intrigue might not have taken over the subject of the whole five acts. Perhaps the interest would have been greater if the conspiracy had occupied a more important place in the organisation of the drama. Perhaps one might have been within one's rights to demand that historical truth be more respected, and that in erring from all the memoirs of the time and the memories of an epoch so close to us, one would not have had Ankastrom as the favourite and friend of Gustave III, when all of Europe knows that this officer was, since his youth, his most implacable enemy. Perhaps the work would have gained a great deal from having a first act less digressive and a third act less bizarre [...]. There are perhaps many other points of this nature to be made, cautiously under the pretext of doubt; but these would certainly be wrongly placed in the face of this successful vogue.[66]

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[65] Anne Martin-Fugier describes the nostalgia that idealised the famous ball patronised by the Duchesse de Berry on 15 February 1830 as 'harmonie perdue' in *La Vie élégante*, p. 17. Richard Osborne describes *La Cenerentola* as a *comédie larmoyante* in *Rossini*, p. 192.

[66] 'La pièce, comme coupe lyrique et comme charpente dramatique, est une des meilleures de l'auteur. Peut-être eût-on pu exiger que, dans un grand ouvrage du genre héroïque, une intrigue de galanterie n'eût pas fait tout le sujet de cinq actes; peut-être l'intérêt aurait-il été plus grand si la conspiration eût occupé une place plus importante dans l'économie du drame; peut-être eût-on été en droit de demander que la vérité historique fût plus respectée, et qu'au mépris de tous les mémoires du temps et des souvenirs d'une époque si rapprochée de nous, on n'eût pas fait d'Ankarstrom l'ami et le

Among the frustrations the *Quotidienne* journalist endured in the name of historical compromise, was the fact that: 'a love scene at midnight, in the snow, at the foot of sinister (devilish) pitchforks ('fourches patibulaires'), between a king and a young woman, is a situation that is closer to ridicule than to originality.'[67]

The lack of historical accuracy within the opera was recognised as a matter of genre by the historian and composer François-Joseph Fétis who expressed his frustration that historical truth was disintegrating under pressure from operatic audiences that were easily satisfied by hedonistic display.[68] Just as Stendhal had criticised the audiences of *La Cenerentola* for their easy acceptance of exhilarating musical effects, Fétis was to express his frustration with the audience of *Gustave III*, whose appetite for an entertainment that required little intellectual effort was insatiable. Fétis wrote: 'in operatic as opposed to literary matters, the public does not show itself to be at all scrupulous about the dates, nor about the faithful observation of history; it examines only the effects.'[69] The distinction Fétis made between the operatic and the literary genres signified a perceived difference in their respective artistic demands - with opera apparently enjoying a freer artistic licence than literature. Opera was, after all, a composite form, and during the early nineteenth century its value was based on the combined effects of *mise en scène* and dance, as much as music and narrative. Undoubtedly, however,

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favori de Gustave III, quand toute l'Europe sait que cet officier était, depuis sa jeunesse, son ennemi le plus implacable; peut-être la pièce eût-elle gagné beaucoup à avoir un premier acte moins oiseux et un troisème acte moins bizarre [...]. Il y aurait une foule d'autres peut-être de ce genre à émettre avec les ménagemens du doute; mais ils auraient certainement tort en présence d'un succès de vogue.' *Quotidienne* (18 March 1833).

[67] 'une scène d'amour à minuit, dans la neige, au pied des fourches patibulaires, entre un roi et une jeune femme, est une situation plus près du ridicule que de l'originalité' *Quotidienne* (18 March 1833).

[68] François-Joseph Fétis was at the helm of historical-mindedness in early nineteenth-century France. His publication *Curiosités historiques de la Musique: complément nécessaire de La Musique mise à la portée de tout le monde* (Paris: Janet et Cotelle, 1830), intended to bring to light the history of music from around the world. Equally, his series of historical concerts, featuring original instruments, brought to light many forgotten masters of the past.

[69] The passage quoted in full reads: 'If this related to a literary work, one could quibble with M. Scribe on the adjective with which he qualified his drama, because it is not *historical* that Ankaström killed Gustavus III because he had made eyes at his wife the countess. It was a far graver motive, a political motive, that guided the hand of the conspirator. But in operatic matters, the public does not show itself to be at all scrupulous about the dates, nor on the faithful observation of history; they examine only the effects, putting aside the causes and caring very little for them.' ['S'il s'agissait d'une œuvre littéraire, on pourrait chicaner M. Scribe sur l'adjectif par lequel il a qualifié son drame, car il n'est pas *historique* qu'Ankaström ait assassiné Gustave III parce que celui-ci faisait les yeux doux à la comtesse sa femme. C'est un motif plus grave, un motif politique qui a guidé la main du conspirateur. Mais, en matière d'opéra, le public ne se montre guère scrupuleux sur les dates et sur la fidèle observation de l'histoire; il n'examine que les effets, mettant à part les causes et ne s'en soucie pas davantage.'], Fétis, *Revue musicale* (2 March 1833).

it had been above all in the masked ball scene in *Gustave III* that verisimilitude had been respected. With its raw musical energy, and its exaggerated *mise en scène*, it was every bit the image of the original eighteenth-century ballroom. Within operatic genres, art music (like historical accuracy) was being marginalised by the public's desire for undemanding entertainment.

In fact, although most historical operas in Paris around 1830 fell victim to criticism on the grounds of limited verisimilitude, *Gustave III* was a special case. Unlike most of the other historical operas in Paris, the plot for Auber's opera was based on events of only some forty years distance; in other words, events that fell within living memory. With Gustavus's death occurring within a year of the execution of Louis XVI, and the assassination of the Duc de Berry occuring just over a decade before the opera's première, any political symbolism in the libretto needed to be subtle. As it was, the ambiguous political stance achieved in *Gustave III* caters for several interpretations. Any work that depicted the murder of a king before an ebullient public was likely to provoke a confused response. Although French historians were examining issues about the collective guilt that resulted from the regicide of 1793, the enthusiastic reception of *Gustave III* suggests that audiences, caught up in the pleasures of dance, witnessed the assassination itself with remarkable indifference.[70]

Are we to believe then, that the ball scene in *Gustave* invoked a level of public collusion that was on a par with that of the Revolutionary fervour of 1789 (and indeed that of 1830)? Was there an unconscious realisation of the public fervour that surrounded *Ça ira!* on the Champ de Mars? What was the reaction of Bourbon legitimists to seeing their king assassinated? These questions are difficult to approach. For the journalist from the *Courrier des théâtres*, who wrote on 25 February 1833 that he dared not cry with delight at the ballet *Les Pages du duc de Vendôme*, the situation was unbearable, even dangerous. In the light of

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[70] 'Since 1793 French historians, writers, and intellectuals have been wrestling with the political consequences and moral implications of the regicide. In the guillotining of the king, royalists perceived an act of unspeakable transgression; for them, regicide was tantamount to deicide, the decapitation of God's representative on earth. They were easily convinced that Louis was a Christ-like martyr who sacrificed himself for the redemption of France [...]. For nineteenth-century liberal and republican writers, the king's disquieting death posed even more complex problems of paramount significance [... they] had to find ways of voicing their doubts and reservations without calling into question the fundamental value of the Revolution [...] it was difficult for them not to see Louis's death as inextricably linked to the moral failure of a pitiless Revolution, powerless to rise above violence and devote itself to the creation of lasting democratic institutions. The task of liberal historians was thus dual: first to describe, explain, and meditate on the significance and consquences of the regicide, and second, to rehabilitate republican ideolgy, to dissociate it from violence and Terror and restore to it the political ideal of 1789 and the compassion that the Jacobins had ultimately banished from politics' Dunn, *The Deaths of Louis XVI* , p. 5.

divided opinions about the regicide, Auber's final choral gasp was non-committal, catering ambiguously for royalists and anti-royalists alike.

The oppositions in the historical dialectic of the early nineteenth-century stage were well defined. On one side were those who were prepared to be seduced by the glamour of legitimacy and inheritance, and who favoured a simple iconographical reading of the past. On the other side there were those who regarded the past as a complex web of messages for the present. *Gustave III* provided fodder for both sets of interests. Susan Dunn applies the metaphor of a historical screen in her examination of contemporary writings about the regicide of Louis XVI:

> The regicide was like a screen onto which writers projected their own attitudes toward history, progress, revolution, violence, the death penalty, and the role of morality in politics. Through the lens of regicide they viewed many of the critical problems of their own societies. Against the background of regicide, Ballanche condemned capital punishment, Lamartine articulated the moral failures of the Restoration, Michelet meditated on social justice and citizenship, Victor Hugo viewed the tragedy of the Commune, and Camus denounced totalitarianism and the reign of the new god, History.[71]

The historical screen (and more particularly the 'regicidal' screen) in this interpretation equates clearly with the idea of the stage as a reflection of its audience, and so in the context of *Gustave III* it draws in the idea of the opera as a reflection of broader social questions. Representation of regicide, then, functioned as a reminder of society's past trauma for those who had lived through it. In *Gustave III*, the French could 'witness for themselves' the public beheading of Louis XVI, and through this, they could remain entirely disabused of the idea of a monarchical authority.'[72]

Historical representation during the early nineteenth century was not solely for the consumption of the intellectual classes, but was clearly becoming part of the broader cultural playground. History increasingly assumed a confusion of guises within a multiplicity of hybrid representations, and the puritanical dreams of some writers that history would serve as the edifying and didactic guide for a lost public consciousness was becoming sullied. The

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[71] Dunn, *The Deaths of Louis XVI*, p. 6.

[72] Michael Walzer, *Regicide and Revolution: Speeches at the Trial of Louis XVI* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1974), p. 88, quoted in Dunn, *The Deaths of Louis XVI*, p. 19. Walzer describes the regicide as: 'the symbolic disenchantment of the realm as well as the establishment of a secular republic' *Regicide and Revolution*, p. 88.

potential for the absorption of philosophical guidance through history was becoming, therefore, increasingly subsumed by the population's desire for voyeuristic entertainment. Although popular opinion was not necessarily as sophisticated as that of the intellectually educated, the polar extremes of society (*petit bourgeois* and the nobility) shared a common desire for amusement. Even if *Gustave III* had been intended as a propagandist work, against the current tide of narcissism, it was unlikely to hit its target.

There were financial reasons, too, for the widening gap between historical facts and their representation. During the 1830s, with the shift from court subsidies to private enterprise for the Opéra, the new director Dr Louis Désiré Véron was not obliged to adhere so closely to political exigencies.[73] As a result of the new financial directorial independence the moralising propagandist defences of the early Restoration lost ground to commercial interests. Incorporating ball scenes into theatrical works was certainly a good investment; the *mélange* of ballroom and assassination in dramas had already proved particularly lucrative on the non-lyric stage. This was pointed out in the *Journal des débats* of 11 March 1833, which listed the characters Marino Faliero, Hernani, the fiancé in *Pré aux Clercs*, Lucrèce Borgia, and Marion de Lorme as victims in the new vogue that ensured an ineradicable link between historical balls and poisons, terror and coffins.

> The ball is everywhere today, in our theatres, in our houses, in the streets, by invitation, by subscription, by vanity, by charity, by all the excuses that make women dance [...]. Since *Marino Faliero*, have you noticed how many balls our authors have given us in their dramas? The Doge de Venise dances, Hernani kills himself in the middle of a ball, the *fiancée* in *Pré aux Clercs* walks around in a ball, Lucrèce Borgia, that terrible and bloody Lucrezia, whose passion ought to define the epoch in the annals of the theatre, is de-masked in the middle of a ball, and it is in a ball that she avenges herself too, you know with how many poisons, terrors and coffins. Antony, Marion de Lorme, Faublas, Le Joueur, all of these people go to the ball.[74]

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[73] Véron was the Opéra's first bourgeois business director from 1831. Although Véron was engaged for six years, he was to stay only four. His memoirs offer an invaluable insight into the responsibilities of a theatre director. See *Mémoires d'un bourgeois de Paris*, ed. G. de Gonet, 6 vols (Paris: Bibliothèque Nouvelle, 1856; Paris: Pierre Josserand, 1945). For details about the development of this new mode of directorship see also Crosten, *French Grand Opera*, p. 17-18, and Fulcher, *The Nation's Image*, p. 56-57.

[74] 'Le bal est partout aujourd'hui, sur nos théâtres, dans nos maisons, dans les rues, par invitation, par souscription, par vanité, par charité, par toutes les excuses qui font danser les femmes [...] depuis *Marino Faliero*, avez-vous remarqué que de bals nos auteurs ont donnés dans leur drames? Le Doge de Venise fait danser; Hernani se tue au milieu d'un bal; la fiancée du *Pré aux Clercs* se promène dans un bal; *Lucrèce Borgia*, cette terrible et sanglante Lucrèce, dont la passion doit faire époque

Interestingly, in terms of the flourishing of historical costume balls at court, three of these works (Delavigne's *Lucrèce Borgia* and Hugo's *Hernani* and *Marion Delorme*) had appeared in 1829, the year of the Duchesse de Berry's *Quadrille Marie Stuart.*

Non-lyric works involving historical assassination plots (though not in ballrooms), had taken hold of the non-lyrical stage during the late 1820s. Alfred de Vigny had portrayed the infamous plot to assassinate Cardinal Richelieu in *Cinq-Mars* as early as 1826; Prosper Mérimée had retold the St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre in *La Chronique du règne de Charles IX* (1829); while Alexandre Dumas had taken the first step in representing an assassinated French monarch in his stage work *Henri III et sa cour* (1829).[75] Each of these assassination works was to spawn a clutch of parodies as well as serious works based on similar themes, and assassination became a *succès de vogue.* By the late 1830s, society was fully anaesthetised to the effects of such horrors:

> We shall see thousands of spectators who are unmoved by exhibitions of treachery, of egoism or of vengeance, watching without horror seduction and even assassination.[76]

> Audiences of the Restoration were used to interpreting the disparate elements of historical symbolism. Those attending *Gustave III*, for example, would have had no difficulty identifying elements of Swedish history as metaphors for French equivalents. The *Quotidienne*, for example, made a connection between Sweden and France, describing 'the

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dans les annales du théâtre, est démasquée au milieu d'un bal, et c'est dans un bal qu'elle se venge aussi, vous savez avec combien de poisons, de terreurs et de cercueils! Antony, Marion de Lorme, Faublas, le Joueur, tout ce monde-là se rendra au bal' *Journal des débats* (11 March 1833).

[75] The fascination with dying leaders also stemmed from French-version revivals of Shakespeare's gothic plays, which had been shown in Paris during the early Restoration. *Journal des débats* (11 March 1833). Early nineteenth-century French versions of Shakespeare's plays (which had been in the repertoire since they were introduced to France by Jean-François Ducis in the late eighteenth century) became part of the French vogue for the gothic within the theatrical circuit, see Hemmings, *Theatre and State*, p. 178. Beyond Parisian performances of Italian operas such as Rossini's *Otello* (Naples, 1816; Paris, 1821), Shakespeare's influence was seen in many French works, including: *Macbeth, ou les Sorcières de la forêt de Birnam* a *pantomime* in three acts by Cuvelier (Cirque Olympique, 20 March 1817), and *Macbeth*, a *tragédie-lyrique* in three acts, with a libretto by Rouget de Lisle and music by Chélard (Opéra, 29 June, 1827). Various *Hamlet*s also appeared, including a *pantomime-tragique* at the Porte-St-Martin in 1816.

[76] 'Nous verrons des milliers de spectateurs que n'émeuvent pas les exhibitions de traîtrise, d'égoïsme et de vengeance; regardant sans horreur la séduction et même l'assassinat', Isaac Appleton Jewett, *Passages in Foreign Travel*, 2 vols (Boston: Little and Brown, 1838), vol. 2, p. 140-142. The public appetite for all things gory infiltrated the everyday in the early nineteenth century: 'The horrible becomes absorbed more and more into everyday life.' Orr, *Headless History*, p. 23-24. From 1830, for example, the journal the *Lanterne magique* published increasingly gruesome anecdotes from scenes of execution and murder.

magnificent backdrop that represents the peristyle of the palace at Stockholm, and the view of the horse-iron staircase, copied from that of Fontainebleau'.[77] Similarly, the gibbet (in Act 3) was referred to repeatedly as a 'Montfaucon' (Paris's public scaffold of execution during the *ancien régime*): 'The scene takes place in the midst of the gibbets, a sort of Montfaucon near Stockholm'.[78]

For the journalist of the *Journal des débats* on 1 March 1833, the gibbet in *Gustave* suggested metaphorically the shadow of the guillotine, the admirable resignation of the doomed Louis XVI, and ultimately the fall of the *ancien régime*:

> You will not be able to believe to what degree truth is pushed in this masked ball. We are not in Stockholm; we are in Paris. It is there, in effect [...] dancing to the sound of thrones that crumble, hiding its ruins beneath the flowers, corrupt century, spoilt, egotistical, spiritual, amorous, charming, and for which one has pardoned everything because of its grand and admirable facility to die well![79]

For the audiences of the early July Monarchy, the gibbet in Act 3 clearly represented a multiplicitous symbol for the guilt and martyrdom of both Gustave and Ankastrom, and seeing a king in the context of a gibbet directly referred the French to the regicide of Louis XVI.[80] Consequently, the confused and guilty emotions expressed by Amélie at the foot of the gibbet, where she is torn between pain and pleasure 'Ô tourment, ô délire' ('O torment, o

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[77] 'le magnificant rideau qui représente le pérystile du palais à Stockholm, et la vue de l'escalier en fer à cheval, copié sur celui de Fontainebleau' *Quotidienne* (18 March 1833).

[78] 'La scène se passe au milieu de gibets, sorte de Montfaucon aux environs de Stockholm' in the article '*Gustave III ou le bal masqué*', Félix Clément and Pierre Larousse, *Dictionnaire lyrique, ou Histoire des opéras* , rev. Arthur Pougin (Paris: Administration du grand dictionnaire universel, 1897; third ed. 1905]). Constructed outside Paris in the thirteenth century, used for execution until the beginning of the seventeenth century, and demolished in 1761, Montfaucon stood between what is now La Villette and the Buttes-Chaumont in the north-east of Paris.

[79] 'Vous ne s'auriez croire à quel degré la vérité est poussée à ce bal masqué. Nous ne sommes plus à Stockholm, nous sommes à Paris. C'est bien là, en effet [...] dansant au bruit des trônes qui s'écroulent, cachant ses ruines sous des fleurs, siècle corrompu, gâté, égoïste, spirituel, amoureux, charmant, et auquel on a tout pardonné par sa grande et admirable facilité à bien mourir!' These comments from the *Journal des débats* (1 March 1833) are quoted in fragments at the opening of this chapter.

[80] Gustavus was, after all, guilty of having betrayed Ankarström, but he was martyred as a result of his assassination. While Ankarström was guilty of assassinating Gustave, he was martyred by his followers because of the exceptional cruelty of his subsequent execution (and the nineteenth-century audience had access to plenty of reports about the cruelty of his punishment). See Anselm Gerhard's examination of the significance of location in Grand Opera in 'Lieu et espace comme éléments de la dramaturgie musicale' *Boletim da Associaçao Portuguesa de Educaçao Musical,* Issue 63 (July-Sept 1989), p. 5-11.

delirium' No. 11), could be said to parallel the confused guilt of those who had voyeuristically surrounded Louis XVI at his execution in 1793.[81]

The symbolism behind the gibbet also related easily to dance. Symbolically, Amélie's gathering of herbs under the gibbet portended the dance of death that would be realised in the ball scene. The *Journal des débats* hinted at the dangerous symbolism of Amélie's actions: 'You will see that the countess will not have gathered enough herbs from the Montfaucon of Stockholm'.[82] The connection stems from the mythology of the mandrake, or *mandragora* (the herb associated with gibbets because it was reputed to grow in the residue of hanged men's sperm); those who pulled the root became insane. Gathering herbs from the foot of the gibbet fixed Amélie symbolically into the disastrous spiral of the plot; it was immediately after that scene that Ankastrom recognised her to be the lover of Gustave, and so she became fatefully entangled in the plans to kill her lover. Amélie, then, was as closely associated with the gibbet as was her murderous husband.

Like those who pull the mandrake root, those bitten by the tarantula will also go mad. The spider's bite is supposed to poison the victim into dancing a 'tarantella', a frenzied dance of death. The 'tarantella' (interestingly, a dance that originated near Marie-Caroline de Berry's home town of Naples), emerged during the early nineteenth century as one of Europe's leading new dance vogues, and had inspired composers of all genres. This intoxicating folk idiom was assimilated easily into the classical repertoire. Paganini, for example, wrote a virtuosic tarantella for violin and guitar, and Rossini incorporated one into his *Soirées musicales*.[83] The tarantella had quickly become a referent for rowdy audience behaviour. A reviewer of Rossini's opera *Matilde de Shabran* (Rome, 1821, Paris, 1829) wrote: 'It was really enough, more than enough. The entire performance was like an idolatrous orgy; everyone acted there as if they had been bitten by a tarantula, the shouting, crying, yelling of 'viva' [...] went on and on'.[84]

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[81] See Dunn, *The Deaths of Louis XVI* for an examination of the writings of eye-witnesses and historians on the execution of Louis XVI: Ballanche presented the execution as a heavenly sacrifice of biblical proportions (p. 29), Lamartine took a more rationalist approach (p. 32), as did Quinet, who abhorred what he saw to be the gratuitous spilling of blood (p. 32-33). Michelet, on the other hand, supported Republican ideals, seeing the regicide as an important step towards necessary change (p. 24).

[82] 'Vous verrez que la comtesse n'aura pas assez ramassé d'herbages au Montfaucon de Stockholm!' *Journal des débats* (1 March 1833).

[83] Rossini's *La danza* ('Tarantella napoletana') is no. 8 in his *Les Soirées musicales* (c. 1830-1835).

[84] Anton Schindler, *Biographie von Ludwig van Beethoven* (Aschendorff, 1860) trans. as *Beethoven as I knew him*, by Constance S. Jolly, ed. Donald W. MarcArdle (London: Faber, 1966), p. 271. The

The extent to which the excited Parisian audience of *Gustave III* was reported to have been insuppressible during performances of the ball scene was reminiscent of the real-life scene in 1792. While performances of the opera continued, members of the aristocracy even bribed the director of the Opéra to allow them to participate in the prized gallop.[85] The fact that, as the work careered its way through the century, the ball scene and the famous *galop* were presented as stageable entities in their own right, exemplified the atmosphere of defiant public indifference towards the monarchy later in the century.

Witnesses and participants at society balls described extremes of gaiety as 'inebriation' or 'intoxication' time and again. In *Gustave III*, Oscar the pageboy sang of those 'enivré par la danse et l'amour' ('inebriated by the dance and by love', No. 16), while in Victor Hugo's poem 'Sur le Bal de l'Hôtel de Ville' (May 1833), Hugo writes: 'La fête vous enivre à son bourdonnement' ('The fête inebriates you with its buzzing'):

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first performance of *Matilde di Shabran* was conducted by Paganini, see Alfred Loewenberg, *Annals of Opera: 1597-1940*, 2 vols (Geneva: Societas Bibliographica, 1955), p. 671. During her exile in England before 1814, Madame de Boigne recounted an incident in which the tarantella seems to have provoked a musical fight to the death: 'They were talking about national dances, about the tarantella. The daughter of the ambassador of Naples danced it very well, and I have danced it before. We were pressed to try it. Soon, we were all out of breath, and the dancers sat down. Viotti ended his role of fiddler by improvising a charming variation. Dragonetti repeated it on the double-bass [...]. He searched for all the most difficult styles, which Dragonetti reproduced with the same perfection. This good-natured rivalry continued, to our great joy, until the moment when Viotti threw his violin on the table, crying: 'Would you believe it, the devil is either in his body or in his double-bass!' ['On parla de danses nationales, de la tarentelle. La fille de l'ambassadeur de Naples la dansait très bien, je l'avais dansée autrefois. On nous pressa de l'essayer [...]. Bientôt nous fûmes essoufflées, et les danseuses s'assirent. Viotti termina son métier de ménétrier en improvisant une variation charmante. Dragonetti la répéta sur la contrebasse [...]. Il chercha tous les traits les plus difficiles que Dragonetti reproduisit avec la même perfection. Cette lutte de bonne amitié se continua, à notre grande joie, jusqu'au moment où Viotti jeta son violon sur la table en s'écriant: 'Que voulez-vous, il a le diable au corps ou dans sa contre basse!'], Boigne, *Mémoires,* vol. 1, p. 185-6.

[85] Boigne, *Petits Mémoires de l'Opéra*, p. 73. Commenting on the number of members of the public on the stage during the early July Monarchy, Charles de Boigne likened the atmosphere to that of the Regency (1714-1723). See also Charles Rosen's introduction in *Gustave III, ou Le Bal masqué*, intr. Charles Rosen in Early Romantic Opera, ed. Philip Gossett and Charles Rosen, Tome 31 [facsimile of Troupenas score (1833)], 2 vols (New York: Garland, 1980). The ball scene in Louis Henri's *La festa dal ballo in maschera* (Milan, 1830) had already provoked a sensational reaction from its audience.

Oui, c'est ainsi. - Le prince, et le riche, et le monde	Yes, it is so. The prince, the rich man, and society
Cherche à vous réjouir, vous pour qui tout abonde.	Seek to delight yourselves, you for whom all abounds.
Vous avez la beauté, vous avez l'ornement;	You have beauty, you have adornment;
La fête vous enivre à son bourdonnement.[86]	The fête inebriates you with its humming.

More than any opera before it, *Gustave III* opened the doors to a scene of unfettered debauchery on the Opéra stage. Descriptions of real-life Parisian balls at the time of this opera indicated that, during the ball season at least, Parisians lived for orgiastic pleasure.

The transition of historical characters to the realm of theatre and literature was balanced by the French public's obsession for disguise and make-believe. Through this, historical and literary figures were drawn into the modern world, acting as props for fantasy balls. Berlioz, for example, came dangerously close to fulfilling one of his homicidal fantasies at a ball in 1832. Writing to his sister Nancy in a letter dated 23 February 1832 that year, he wrote:

> We have next Monday [23 February or 1 March 1832] a grand costumed ball at the home of the ambassador; Monsieur Horace will lend me his Scottish costume. I will go as Allan, the Officer of Fortune of W. Scott.[87]

Allan, from Scott's *Legend of Montrose*, kills his rival to prevent him from marrying the woman they both loved. Berlioz, suffering a crippling amorous jealousy the previous year, had in fact plotted to kill his own rival in love.[88]

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[86] Hugo, *Sur le Bal de l'Hôtel de Ville*, no. 6 of *Chants du crépuscule*, in Victor Hugo, *Œuvres poétiques* (Paris: Gallimard, Bibliothèque de la Pleiade, 1964), p. 843-844.

[87] Berlioz continued: 'My hair will be the sensation of the season. All I'll be missing will be the bloodstained head in my left hand. I'd have no trouble finding one, but it would not be 'appropriate' - it would give Mme de Marcell the screaming horrors - she is the reigning beauty in Rome this winter.' Cairns, *Berlioz ... The Making of an Artist*, p. 485.

[88] Cairns adds the footnote: 'As Pierre Citron remarks, Berlioz certainly chose his disguise with more than a passing glance at his own murderous project of the previous April'. Cairns refers to Berlioz's intended revenge against the family and new lover of Camille (Marie Moke), who was to marry Pleyel in Berlioz's place. The composer prepared two double-barrelled pistols and set off from Italy towards Paris during which time his resolve gradually faded. See Cairns, *Berlioz ... The Making of an Artist*, p. 417-20.

The merging of fantasy and reality was exemplified on the night of the Duc de Berry's assassination when, on hearing the news, most of the men at the ball attended by Adelaïde de Boigne immediately set about dealing with the crisis: 'Those that had obligations to fulfil ran home to change into their uniforms.'[89] One gentleman, however, remained trapped in the world of make-believe:

> Soon we found ourselves amongst women only.
>
> There remained only Monsieur de Mun who, dressed as a lady of a castle, with a ruff, frills and furbelows and feathers, could not get undressed. He remained in this costume the whole night long in the midst of the comings and goings, the *aides-de-camp*, the valets, the giving of orders (because we were not short of messengers of every kind), without anybody, neither him nor us, nor the new arrivals, thinking of noticing him, so serious was the concern.[90]

Adelaïde de Boigne emphasised the absurdity of Monsieur de Mun's situation with her extravagant description of his clothes. In this way M. de Mun's humiliation was a metaphor for Parisian aristocracy caught at play, out of uniform, and with its pants down at the moment of greatest need. However, even for those lucky enough not to have cross-dressed for the ball, the exchange of fancy dress for uniform amounted to no more than a change of costume and scene.

As much as Monsieur de Mun's predicament was paralleled by that of the revellers at Gustavus's ball, it was also paralleled by the performers and their audience at the ball within the plot of *Gustave III*, and by the dancers and onstage audience in its theatrical representation. There, too, dancers were caught in guilty mid-dance at the moment of regicide. Like voyeuristic bystanders in the theatre, members of the audience were similarly immobilised, disinterested and without responsibility. The indifference of performers and audience alike echoed the scene as spectators had gathered to watch the execution of Louis

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[89] 'Ceux qui avaient des devoirs à remplir couraient chez eux pour prendre leur uniforme.' Boigne, *Mémoires,* vol. 2, p. 36.

[90] 'Bientôt nous nous trouvâmes entre femmes.
Il ne resta que monsieur de Mun, qui, vêtu en dame du château, lacé, colleretté, falbalassé, emplumé, ne pouvait se déshabiller. Il resta dans ce costume toute la nuit au milieu des allants et des venants, des aides de camp, des valets, des ordonnances, car les messagers de toutes sortes ne nous manquaient pas, sans que personne, ni lui, ni nous, ni les survenants ne pensassent à le remarquer, tant le trouble était grand.' Boigne, *Mémoires*, vol. 2, p. 36. M. de Mun was related to Madame de Gontaut, the governess of the Duchesse de Berry's children.

XVI. On a broader scale, the assassination of Gustavus III in Auber's opera becomes a metaphor for the fall of the *ancien régime*, and also for that of the Bourbons in 1830.

Auber's operatic recontextualisation of the regicide of Gustavus III created a metaphorical retrospective on the collapse of the *ancien régime*, which corresponded (in 1833) with the French public's evidently diminishing respect for its new monarchy. Paris's increasingly permissive society perceived its new monarch Louis-Philippe as dispossessed, displaced or simply irrelevant; he was a man, therefore, who had assumed a throne that was wracked with risk (for the reputation of his monarchic regime, but also for his own security). Likewise, because Gustavus's assassination was a premonition of the regicide of Louis XVI, the aura surrounding his death assumed a sacrificial and curiously theatrical heroism. Auber's dying king echoed the dying pleas of both Gustavus and Louis XVI for society's redemption.

The violation of kingly privilege (and that of the aristocracy) within the opera was in part responsible for the reckless participation of the audience in the masked-ball scene of *Gustave III*. The opera's dependence on disguise, spectatorship and orgiastic abandon pandered to the hedonistic appetite of the French public, obscuring the death of the monarch to the extent that the pleasure of the ball (indeed pleasure itself) was iconised instead of the monarchy. While *Gustave III* also satisfied a growing awareness of social metaphor and symbolism, in addition it reflected convincingly the mainstream vogue for bloodthirsty drama. Therefore, at the same time as invoking empathy towards the sacrificial role-playing of the Bourbon monarchy, the moment of *Gustave*'s assassination could easily be interpreted as decadent satire.

Auber's portrayal of the audiences' disregard at the horrific moment of regicide amidst the dancing reflected the reluctance of French society, immediately after July 1830, to face up to its own constitutional dilemma: what, after all, was the status of society's own leadership? The fact that the assassination occurred at the point of artistic weakness, when the music of the opera became indistinct from the music of a real-life ball (and therefore expressed most clearly 'the choice of the people'), metaphorically underlined the public's ambivalence about the removal of the Bourbons. Furthermore, the fact that the 'regicidal hymn' *Ça ira* was identified with the assassination of Gustavus III is important in our political interpretation of the score, whether the song is quoted directly or not (and despite the possibility that remnants of the song were concealed in the score) opens up a new set of political implications. If Auber's resistance to a direct quotation in *Gustave III* represented one of the most significant missed opportunities for monarchist propaganda, or indeed that of the monarchy's opposition,

then this ommission did not dampen the success of his ball scene. Hauntingly, and adding to the singular parallels between Gustavus III and the Duc de Berry, Madame de Gontaut was to comment that on the night of the Duc de Berry's assassination in 1820: 'during this scene of horror, the music of the ballet, not interrupted, still made itself heard.'[91]

By including balls in a discussion of early-nineteenth century theatrical representation, we stir into music history an important ingredient that highlights what is at present a limited perception of society and the arts during the early nineteenth century. The integration of balls rather than ballets into stage-drama said much about the *Zeitgeist* of the period; it encouraged an illusion of audience participation and reflected a real-life dance world in which the public was able to improvise its own dramas. Ballrooms provided an exciting interactive spectacle; they were the ultimate Restoration and post-Restoration context for the unexpected in social gatherings, where groups of individuals formed a collective identity. *Gustave III*'s ballroom spelled out a symbolic threat to social stability; it was linked to betrayal, sacrifice, and ultimately to death.

From an examination of *Gustave III* we see that masked balls, in particular, created a sense of suspended reality. Pleasure, deceit and danger could hide behind the assassin's mask as it brought him close to his victim. With an adopted alter ego, a ball-goer was liberated from the burdens of social and cultural boundaries, from the pre-judgements of personality and appearance; a king and a pauper were indistinguishable. Euphoric and hedonistic atmospheres resulted, at least in part, from the removal of social barriers, and from the reversal of maskless normality.[92]

Gustave III, 'masking' itself as an assassination opera, awoke the public's hedonistic desire to an unprecedented degree, so that watching the king die on stage was associated with liberation. The nation turned a blind eye to the groundbreaking scene of the expiration of the *ancien régime* monarchy on stage and, adding further insult, danced alongside it. And dance it might; like the alcoholic who obliterates his disappointments with drink in order to avoid stark reality, Paris was united in a plot to 'get over' its recent constitutional changes. Aware that the machine of change was in motion, the public felt incapable of controlling its

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[91] 'Pendant cette scène d'horreur, la musique du ballet, non interrompue, se faisait encore entendre' Gontaut, *Mémoires*, p. 204.

[92] Prendergast discusses the connection between Paris's spaces and its new social identity: 'Certainly the notion that the park functioned as a space for the bucolic fraternising of all Parisians, suspending the frictions and divisions of social hierarchy and class conflict, could be dismissed as absurd were it not that it is also symptomatic of the terms and tone of the revisionist approach in general' Prendergast, *Paris and the Nineteenth Century*, p. 9.

progress.[93] The ball scene of the early Restoration, in which frightened aristocrats fought to hold on to their privilege, had been transmuted on the stage of the early July Monarchy into a masked, gargoylesque ball for its initiated attendees.

In the century before Gustavus's death, Louis XIV had represented the personification of royal deification on the stage, and he had paraded himself as his own god through his participation in stage works that paid him homage. Louis was also a dancing king, where dance signified a higher language of communication. As a dancing king of the late eighteenth century, Gustavus (who rejected his 'sacred inheritance') had been assassinated because of the extent to which he had secularised his own role, and by implication those of his noble entourage. The supremacy of the aristocracy was in jeopardy. Instead of resolving these fears, the assassination of Gustavus III had wounded the sanctity of the monarchic institution even more. Freed as he was from the shackles of religious deference, Gustave indulged in the autonomous art of the masked ball. The dancing kings of 1792 and 1833 both breached the sanctity of the monarchic institution, and in so doing, highlighted the symbolic fall of the monarch from god to man. Indeed, Auber's assassination opera was an awkward portent for a monarch whose manifesto was as outspokenly Liberal as that of Louis-Philippe. If Gustave was presented as a spoiled god, then his lover, Amélie, was a spoiled woman. Faced with a gap to fill and symbols of leadership to create, the public's interest in a dead monarchy went some way to replacing a living monarchy both in reality and in representation.

In July 1831 Hugo's *Les Feuilles d'automne* had already compounded what was by then a pervasive analogy of Paris as a 'fatal city', and an 'ardent capital' seething in the 'lava of events':

[...] Le géant Paris est couché! [...]
On ne s'informe plus si la ville fatale,
Du monde en fusion ardente capitale,
Ouvre et ferme à tel jour ses cratères fumants;
Et de quel air de rois, à l'instant où nous sommes,
Regardent bouillonner dans ce Vésuve d'hommes
La lave des événements.[94]

[...] Paris, the giant, is asleep! [...]
One no longer informs oneself if the fatal town,
The ardent capital of the fused world,
Opens and closes its fuming craters on a certain day;
And with what kingly attitude, in the moment we are at,
They watch the lava of events
Boiling in this Vesuvius of men.

The fears that society was 'dancing on a volcano' (as expressed at the ball in the Palais Royal) in May 1830, had become a reality. The image of a nation tempting itself on the

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[93] Prendergast offers comments from Walter Benjamin, Karl Marx, Friedrich Nietzsche and Georg Simmel on the relationship between the increasing speed of life in Paris in the nineteenth century and the city's artistic output, see Prendergast, *Paris and the Nineteenth Century*, p. 5-6.

[94] Hugo, *Bièvre* is no. 34, in IV of *Les Feuilles d'automne* (8 July 1831), in Hugo, *Œuvres poétiques*, p. 784.

precipice of disruption and corruption was to be echoed by Flaubert fifteen years after the première of *Gustave III*. In a letter to Louis Bouilhet, Flaubert wrote: 'We are not dancing on a volcano, but on the planks of a latrine, which strikes me as being pretty abominable'.[95]

Recognising this profound socio-political *malaise* to be nostalgia for a belief in legitimacy, for a hereditary monarchy that was inherently stable, the new generation was faced with acknowledging responsibility for having spoiled its own inheritance. The failure of the Revolution, with its *promesse de bonheur*, could not be revoked, not through the installation of Louis XVIII's apologist monarchy, nor by the glorious self-aggrandisement of Charles X, nor even by the liberal monarchy of Louis-Philippe. Trapped by the despicable nature of its own nostalgia, the French public had hidden itself in a world of make-believe that was expressed in both the inner world (the Romantic preoccupation with *Innerlichkeit*), and in the outer world (consolation within the herd).[96] Like a volcano waiting to erupt, Paris's dancing society had begun to play its joker.

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[95] 'Nous dansons non pas sur un volcan, mais sur la planche d'une latrine, qui m'a l'air passablement pourrie.' Flaubert made this comment in a letter to Louis Bouilhet, 14 November 1850, in Flaubert, *Correspondance 1846-51*, in *Les Œuvres de Gustave Flaubert*, ed. Maurice Nadeau (Lausanne: n. pub., 1964). Note also that Duneton uses the volcano image as a chapter title 'Chanter sur un volcan' in vol. 2 of *Histoire de la chanson*.

[96] Prendergast examines Walter Benjamin's perception of French society's fearful and hedonistic reaction to its own liberation: 'Benjamin reminds us that the body contracting in spasm expresses "the kind of sexual shock that can beset a lonely man" in the big city, but he also reactivates what might otherwise lie buried in the word "extravagant", namely its connotation of being on the edge, close to breakdown' Prendergast, *Paris and the Nineteenth Century*, p. 146, quoting Walter Benjamin, *Charles Baudelaire., A Lyric Poet in the Era of High Capitalism*, trans. Harry Zohn (London: N. L. B., 1973), p. 46 and p. 125. Prendergast continues 'This is scarcely an example of "ecstasy-producing shock" melting self into other; it is rather loss of the sense of self, pressure on "identity", of an intensely distressing kind. It suggests shock as trauma or, perhaps better, as hysteria.' Prendergast, *Paris and the Nineteenth Century*, p. 146. In his latter comment Prendergast is quoting Nathaniel Wing, *The Limits of Narrative* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986) p. 21.

Chapter Five

Insurrection: Rossini's *Giovanna d'Arco* and the Duchesse de Berry

Introduction

If historical novels are still fashionable in several centuries' time, a new Walter Scott would have difficulty finding a more poetic story than that of the military campaign of Madame la Duchesse de Berry in France during the years 1832 and 1833.[1]

During the first three years of the July Monarchy, the Duchesse de Berry created a microcosmic drama that crossed the bridge between the actual and novelesque, between fact and fiction, a drama that responded to the influences of France's current literary and artistic world. This chapter will examine parallels between the Duchesse de Berry's insurrection against Louis-Philippe d'Orléans and the composition of Rossini's cantata *Giovanna d'Arco*. It will rely on detailed cross-referencing between political and cultural developments. To this end, visual iconography will once again be useful in suggesting a connection between historical events and musical output.

Adelaïde de Boigne's appraisal of the duchess's insurrection against Louis-Philippe d'Orléans as 'poetic' was well founded; indeed, the duchess's actions were of storybook proportions. Immediately after the overthrow of the Bourbons in July 1830, the core

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[1] 'Si les romans historiques sont encore à la mode dans quelques siècles, un nouveau Walter Scott trouvera difficilement un sujet plus poétique que celui de l'expédition de madame la duchesse de Berry en France pendant les années 1832 et 1833' Boigne, *Mémoires*, vol. 2, p. 350.

members of the royal family had been sent into exile in Scotland.[2] Holyrood Castle near Edinburgh, offered by the British government in preference to London as the refuge for the exiled Bourbons, was an interesting choice. During the 1820s Holyrood had become a source of historical fantasy for the French imagination. This was partly as a result of the wide readership in France of the novels of Walter Scott, whose *The Abbot* retold the story of Mary Queen of Scots (she had lived at Holyrood as Queen of Scotland).[3] The impulse to romanticise Holyrood was encouraged by the already strong associations between Marie-Caroline de Berry with Marie Stuart, and by the popularity of paintings of Holyrood such as Daguerre's *Les ruines de la chapelle de Holyrood*, and his matching diorama (which was being exhibited both in Paris and London in the mid-1820s, see Plate 15).[4]

Marie-Louise de Gontaut who, during the Empire, had been exiled at Holyrood with the Duc de Berry, was to return there as the royal governess with the duke's widow in 1830. Her impressions of the castle at that time were recounted:

> This palace, privileged by the law, is a shelter from all sorts of concerns. The Prince Regent offered it to him [the Duc de Berry], had it furnished, and searched for all possible means to soften the severity of this beautiful palace; but there is truth in the saying 'there are no beautiful prisons'.[5]

It was from the 'severity' of Holyrood that the Duchesse de Berry planned her insurrection against the Orléans monarchy, just as Mary Queen of Scots had planned to assume the title of Queen of England and Scotland on the death of Elizabeth I.

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[2] Prints depicting the Bourbons leaving France from the port of Cherbourg are listed in Villa, *Collection de Vinck*, vol. 6, no. 11474-76. No. 11474 (signed C. Pancca) includes Maréchal Marmont in the group. The subtitle describes him as 'The cat Marmont' ['Le chat Marmont'].

[3] French editions of Walter Scott's works were ubiquitous during the Restoration.

[4] Bann, *The Clothing of Clio*, p. 56-7 and p. 183 (fn. 4). Plate 15 shows Daguerre's painting of *Les Ruines d'Holyrood* (1824), now housed in the collection of the Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool. It was based on his diorama of the ruins (shown in London in 1825-6), but produced earlier. See Arthur Gill, 'The London Diorama', *History of Photography* (January 1977), vol. 1, p. 33, and the image *Personnages visitant une ruine médiévale* (1826) in the exhibition catalogue from the Grand Palais's *De David à Delacroix - La peinture française de 1774 à 1830* (Paris: 1974), p. 356.

[5] 'Ce palais, privilégié par la loi, met à l'abri de toutes procédures; le Prince régent le lui offrit, le fit meubler et chercha tous les moyens possibles d'adoucir la sévérité de ce beau palais; mais on a raison de dire qu' "il n'y a point de belles prisons", Gontaut, *Mémoires*, p. 68.

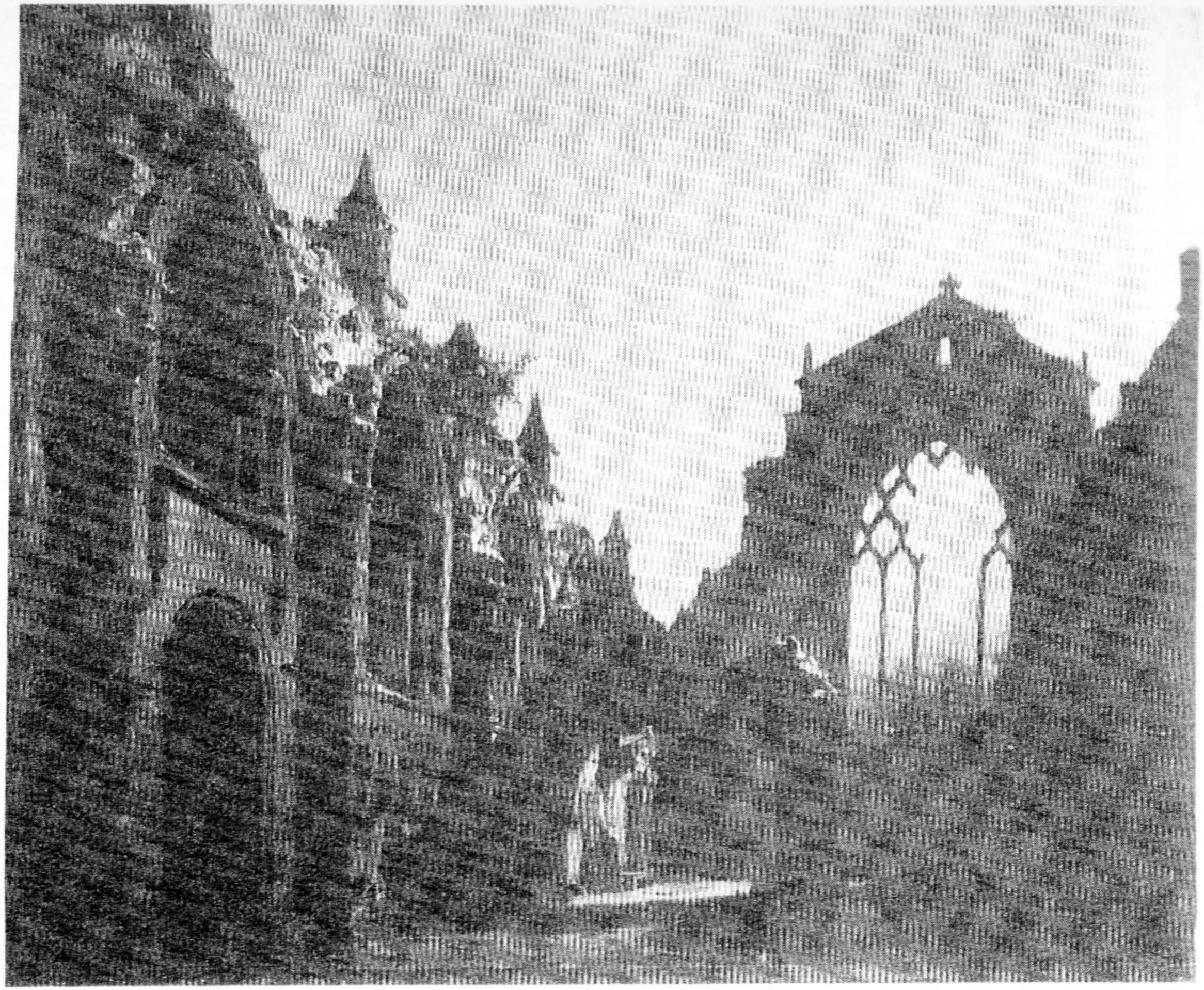

Plate 15: Les ruines la chapelle de Holyrood.

After suffering more than a year of ignominious exile in Scotland, the duchess was pressurised by the conditions of her guardianship of her son (known by supporters as 'Henri V') to attempt to take back the French crown for him. When the boy reached his fourteenth year on 30 September 1833, he would have reached the majority that would remove her power as regent.[6] It was in Scotland, too, that the duchess heard via the *Bulletin des Lois* that Eugénie Adélaïde-Louise d'Orléans (wife of Louis-Philippe, but also her own aunt) had stripped her of the cherished title 'Madame' that she had acquired only on the accession of Charles X.[7] Marie-Caroline's self-appointed task was to go in person to France to take back the throne from the Orléans; the new regime had decreed that the French crown might be contended by the Bourbons 'only on condition that Marie-Caroline succeed in placing her foot on French soil!'[8] She was forced to act without Charles X who, despite his recent grandiose coronation at Reims, had proved weak in the face of his adversaries.

Marie-Caroline's reaction was outlined by her biographer Edmond Dupland: 'Immediately, she tried to obtain from Charles X his effective renunciation of any intentions to reclaim the throne within his rightful capacity as king, and confirmation that he would consent to see her behave not only as an *instructrice* to her children, but as a true regent of France. In the face of his ambiguous attitude she decided to act alone.'[9] From Holyrood, the duchess went to Massa in Italy, and then by sea to Nantes aboard the Carlo Alberto. From Nantes she travelled incognito on horseback towards Paris, inspiring short outbursts of violent support in the Vendée, and adopting elaborate disguises; because of the masculine costume she wore for parts of her journey, she became known to her fellow travellers as 'Petit Pierre'.[10]

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[6] 'Dans trente-trois mois!' Dupland, *Marie-Caroline*, p. 204. 'The day on which the Duc de Bordeaux would become fourteen years old, the age at which the princes come of age' ['Le jour ou le du Duc de Bordeaux eut quatorze ans, âge où les princes sont majeurs.' Gontaut, *Mémoires*, p. 386.

[7] Dupland, *Marie-Caroline*, p. 201-2.

[8] 'seulement à condition que Marie-Caroline ait réussi à poser le pied sur le sol de France!' Dupland, *Marie-Caroline*, p. 204.

[9] 'Aussitôt, elle tente d'obtenir de Charles X qu'il renonce effectivement à toute volonté de reprendre le trône en sa propre qualité de roi, qu'il consente à la voir agir comme véritable régente de France et non seulement comme tutrice de ses enfants. Devant son attitude ambiguë, elle se décide à agir seule' Dupland, *Marie-Caroline*, p. 201.

[10] The name 'Petit Pierre' evidently caught the public imagination. As late as 1900, a stage work entitled *Le P'tit Pierre*, dramatising the duchess's insurrection, was submitted in manuscript form to the Parisian theatre censors. It can be found in the Archives Nationales (shelfmark: F18 969). The censors had replaced the original title with *La Duchesse de Berry*. The text for this *drame* in five

There was something unlikely, immature, and eccentric in the planning and materialisation of the duchess's insurrection, which anti-heroically failed to ignite the kind of support she had desired, and became a parody of the historical events she had absorbed through her avid reading of writers such as Scott. Indeed, theatrically, the duchess and her companions even adopted the names of Scott's characters as part of their disguise.[11] In attempting to take back France, Marie-Caroline was aware that she would have to depose her own aunt, but she reportedly made plain her indifference in the comment: 'I do not hope for the death of Queen Marie-Amélie, but when that occurs [...] as old as I will be then I will give a ball and dance myself.'[12] The dance metaphor is as strong as the tone of bitterness.

After several months of cautious travelling, Marie-Caroline was betrayed by Deutz, one of her sympathisers. Surprised by the arrival of government soldiers while sheltering in the house of a friend, the duchess and several others hid for some seventeen hours behind a chimney-breast. The soldiers, tired and cold, lit a fire in the hearth using as fuel the *Mode des Dames* (the journal which, because of the duchess's patronage, had posed some embarrassment to the Restoration monarchy). Suffering choking claustrophobia, the fugitives eventually gave themselves up.[13] The duchess was placed under guard in Nantes before being sent to prison in the south of France.

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acts was by M. Arthur Bernède and the stage set was by Jambon and Bailly. It was intended for performance at the Théâtre de l'Ambigu-Comique on 8 March 1900. Bearing in mind that Marie-Caroline lived until 1870, this late interest is not surprising.

[11] 'The whole of this little factious court played at historical romance, even to the point of giving themselves as nicknames the names of characters invented by Walter Scott.' ['Toute cette petite Cour factieuse jouait au roman historique, jusqu'à ce point de se donner pour sobriquets entre eux les noms des personnages inventés par Walter Scott.'], Boigne, *Mémoires*, vol. 2, p. 395. Chateaubriand reported the sentiments of a captain from Nantes after the duchess had begun her approach to Paris: 'He disapproved of the enterprise; he found it stupid; but he said: "[...] Members of the Council, hang Walter Scott, because he is the true guilty party".' ['Il désapprouvait l'entreprise; il la trouvait insensée; mais il disait: [...] "messieurs du conseil, faites pendre Walter Scott, car c'est lui qui est le vrai coupable".' Chateaubriand, *Mémoires d'outre tombe*, vol. 5, p. 412-14. Marie-Caroline had recently, in fact, attended a memorial service for Scott, who died in September 1832, Dupland, *Marie-Caroline*, p. 200.

[12] 'Je ne souhaite pas la mort de la reine Marie-Amélie, mais quand cela arrivera [...] si âgée que je sois alors je donnerai un bal et je danserai moi-même.' Pierre Serval, *Moi la Duchesse de Berry* (Paris: Abin Michel, 1896), p. 301.

[13] Original documents about the arrest survive in 'l'Affaire de la Duchesse de Berry' Archives Nationales (shelfmark: F^7 12.171). Many other primary sources give detailed descriptions of the arrest. The Comtesse de Boigne reported that seventeen hours were 'passed in the breast of the chimney' ['passées dans le tuyau de cheminée'], and stated that the hidden group did not begin to give up their position until 'the suffering of an extreme heat was added to their troubles and that the

The historian Louis Blanc acknowledged the level to which Marie-Caroline was caught up in the Romantic historical impulse. Likening her to Jeanne d'Albret, the mother of Henri IV, he wrote:

> From elsewhere, the role of Jeanne d'Albret appealed to her Neapolitan imagination. To cross over the seas at the head of faithful paladins, to arrive into a land of knights, to traverse the perils and adventures of an unexpected voyage; to get through the midst of such watchful enemies, with the help of a thousand different disguises; to wander, courageous mother and proscribed queen, from village to village and from castle to castle; to know thus from their romantic side the extremes of human existence and, after a victorious conspiracy, to raise up in France the old standard of the monarchy: exactly the sort of thing to seduce a lively young woman, strong through her ignorance of the obstacles, heroic to the needs through softness capable of bearing everything other than boredom, and prompt to absolve herself, through the sophisms of maternal love, from the lingering of an unquiet nature.[14]

This tendency for the duchess to over-romanticise her life ties in with Guizot's comment about the irrationality of the duchess's enterprise: 'Princess, woman and mother, nothing but

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dress of Madame la Duchesse de Berry caught fire' ['la souffrance d'une extrême chaleur s'y joignit et que la robe de madame la Duchesse de Berry prit feu'], Boigne, *Mémoires*, vol. 2, p. 424-5. Chateaubriand destroyed all hope of a reconciliation with Louis-Philippe's government with his sympathetic article 'Mémoire sur la captivité de Madame la Duchesse de Berry' (1833). Boigne recalled hearing Chateaubriand reading from this manuscript: 'a very eloquent hymn to the maternal virtues of the intrepid Marie-Caroline, read with emotion [...]. I still had in my ear the expressions *devourer of Edinburgh relics* and *tight-rope dancer of Italy* that I had recently heard him apply to these two princesses [referring also to the Duchesse d'Angoulême], and I was strangely affected by this spectacle' ['une hymne très éloquente aux vertus maternelles de l'intrépide Marie-Caroline, lue avec émotion [...]. J'avais encore dans l'oreille les expressions de *mangeuse de reliques d'Édimbourg*, et de *danseuse de corde d'Italie* que, si récemment, je lui avais entendu appliquer à ces deux princesses, et je fus étrangement frappée de ce spectacle'], Boigne, *Mémoires*, vol. 2, p. 429. For a similar account of her arrest see Général Dermancour, *La Vendée et madame*, attrib. Alexandre Dumas, *père* (Paris: A. Guyot, 1833), p. 278.

[14] 'D'ailleurs, le rôle de Jeanne d'Albret souriait à son imagination napolitaine. Traverser les mers à la tête de paladins fidèles; arriver sur une terre de chevaliers, à travers les périls et les aventures d'un voyage inattendu; passer, à la faveur de mille déguisements divers, au milieu de tant d'ennemis en éveil; errer, mère courageuse et reine proscrite, de village en village et de château en château; connaître ainsi par leur côté romanesque toutes les extrémités des chose humaines, et, à la suite d'une conspiration victorieuse, relever en France le vieil étendard de la monarchie: tout cela était bien propre à séduire une femme jeune et vive, hardie par ignorance des obstacles, héroïque au besoin par légéreté, capable de tout supporter hors l'ennui, et prompte à s'absoudre, par les sophismes de l'amour maternel, des entraînements d'une nature inquiète' Blanc, *Histoire de Dix Ans,* vol. 3, p. 14.

causes of illusion for her and for those dragging around with her!'[15] More than anything, the duchess's actions, as we shall see, were a striking reminder of the actions of Jeanne d'Arc.

Marie-Caroline's imprisonment caused much alarm among her supporters, fodder for anti-Bourbon propaganda, and sentimental interest for the politically disengaged. The striking theatricality of the duchess's military campaign and resulting imprisonment was innevitably attractive to the romantic mainstream (blurring as that did the divide between fiction and reality). In addition to pushing the contentious issues of legitimacy and of the relationship between monarch and people to the centre of French consciousness, Marie-Caroline's insurrection and capture highlighted a cultural fascination with the portrayal of royal figures suffering imprisonment or teetering on the brink of death. It threw up once again (as had the regicides of Louis XVI, the Duc d'Enghien and the Duc de Berry, and even that of Gustavus III) questions about the iconic value of the sacrificial victim, especially in the light of the foiled 'Prouvières' plot against Louis-Philippe.[16]

The public's fascination with the themes of victimisation and self-sacrifice was highlighted in a flood of historical representations on the European stage of the late 1820s and early 1830s, most particularly focussing on women. The roaring success of Fenella's suicidal plunge in Auber's *La Muette de Portici* (Paris, 1828) had played an important part in inspiring the trend of the sacrificial heroine. Equally, the vogue for Tudor queens was manifest in Donizetti's *Anna Bolena* (Milan, 1830; Paris, 1831), whose female victim goes insane with grief in her prison, and in his *Maria Stuarda* (composed for Naples, 1834, banned then revised for Milan, 1835; Paris, 1866), whose destructive relationship with her cousin Elizabeth I led to her incarceration and execution.[17] Two works that pre-empted Donizetti's *Maria Stuarda*, Pierre-Antoine Lebrun's popular dramatic tragedy *Marie Stuart* (Théâtre Français, 1820) and Fétis's *Marie Stuart en Ecosse* (Opéra-Comique, 1823) were still in the minds of the theatre-going public towards the end of the Restoration. Parisians also knew the story of Bellini's *Norma* (Milan, 1831; Paris, 1835), who chooses to burn at the stake in a

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[15] 'Princesse, femme et mère, que de causes d'illusion pour elle et d'entraînement autour d'elle!' Guizot, *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de mon temps*, p. 189-90.

[16] Questions about society's developing perception of victimisation are discussed in Dunn, *The Deaths of Louis XVI*, and René Girard, *Le Bouc émissaire* (Paris: Grasset, 1982).

[17] The French theatrical and literary traditions had provided sources for many key Italian Romantic works. Among the eighteen operas written by Donizetti between 1830-1835, *Gianni di Parigi, Francesca di Foix, Ugo conte di Parigi, L'elisir d'amore, Lucrezia Bogia, Gemma di Vergy* and *Marino Faliero* were all inspired by French works of different genres.

redemptive sacrifice. *Norma* was based on Alexandre Soumet's verse tragedy of the same name, which was shown in Paris from 1831.

The burst of topical cultural representation that followed the duchess's imprisonment brought the following comment in 1832 from Alfred de Vigny who, having not been invited to Charles X's coronation (unlike his close friend Victor Hugo), had felt sidelined by the Bourbons:

> If something didn't repel me, I would write a hymn to the Duchesse de Berry who comes like a madonna, her infant in her arms, and a lily in her hand, but how should one pay court to so beautiful an unfortunate? That would be to mix with those who prepare favours for their futures. I have no enthusiasm for her cause; and if I had, I would have gone and fought rather than sung.[18]

With 'fought rather than sung', Vigny may have been referring to the *Chanson Chouanne*, a popular song that was associated with the Duchesse de Berry's insurrection because the melody (with its political text) was sung or whistled on street corners by her supporters as a statement of allegiance.[19] Vigny had almost certainly witnessed the outpouring of visual iconography that surrounded the duchess during the Restoration. He was also evidently familiar with the Madonna-like portraits of the duchess that had emerged after the birth of the Duc de Bordeaux in 1821, in which, posing with child and the Lily of France, she was compared to Jeanne d'Albret, mother of Henri IV (see Plate 6).[20] From within this extraordinary climate of political and cultural parity, Rossini's cantata *Giovanna d'Arco* (1832) emerges as a central case study for questions about the interaction between the real and the musical worlds.

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[18] 'Si quelque chose ne me repoussait, je ferais un hymne à la Duchesse de Berry qui vient, comme une madone, son enfant dans ses bras et son lis à la main! Mais quoi faire la cour à une infortune si belle, c'est se confondre avec ceux qui se préparent des faveurs pour l'avenir. Je n'ai point d'enthousiasme pour sa cause; sans quoi, je serais allé combattre et non chanter' Vigny, *Journal d'un poète*, p. 65 (1832). Portraits of Marie-Caroline shortly after the birth of her son portrayed her (with varying degrees of sincerity) in the image of a madonna, see Rosset, *Collection de Vinck*, vol. 5, no. 10694-10705.

[19] Barbier and Vernillat, *Histoire de France par des chansons*, p. 154-55. In his reference to singing, Vigny may have been referring to the spate of popular songs that emerged after the duchess's capture. Two of the popular songs will be discussed in Chapter Six.

[20] Hugo's ode *La Naissance du duc de Bordeaux* on the birth of Marie-Caroline's son contained the lines: 'O joie! ô triomphe! ô mystère! / [...] / O jeune lys qui vient d'éclaire, / Tendre fleur qui sort d'un tombeau!' Victor Hugo, *Odes et ballades*, livre 1, no. 8 (Paris: Nelson, 1920).

As I have shown in Chapter Three, Rossini's musical connections to the Duchesse de Berry had begun in 1816 with the wedding cantata *Le Nozze di Teti e di Peleo*. This had proven to be an early announcement of the Neapolitan princess's aspirations to the French throne. Rossini's incidental music for the duchess's historical balls in the Château d'Arque in the mid-to-late 1820s had strengthened the connection between the composer and the duchess.[21] The fact that Rossini's first music in French had also been written for the Duchesse de Berry sealed this link.[22] Ironically, Rossini's *Giovanna d'Arco* was to be a swan-song to their relationship.

Despite Rossini's retirement from the centre stage of operatic composition after *Guillaume Tell* (Paris, 1829), he was still working at the epicentre of the operatic and musical traditions in France. He had gone into exile for a short time because of disagreements about his contract at the Théâtre Italien, and so (like others including Berlioz), he had escaped the cholera epidemic that swept France during 1831 and 1832.[23] Thus, Rossini spent time in Italy at around the time that it was brimming with news about the Duchesse de Berry's campaign. Rossini had contacts in Massa, where the duchess set up court between her exile in Scotland and her entry into France, and his long-standing friend, the Romantic painter Francesco Hayez, had become the Duchesse de Berry's art tutor during her stay.[24]

Within the context of the duchess's insurrection, Rossini's cantata *Giovanna d'Arco* (written for solo voice and piano in Paris in 1832, and dedicated to his wife Olympe Pélissier) takes on a particular relevance.[25] Why did Rossini choose to portray Jeanne d'Arc at this

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[21] Apponyi, *Journal*, vol. 1, p. 126 (Dieppe, 15 July 1828), quoted in Chapter Three.

[22] Apponyi, *Journal*, vol. 1, p. 126 (Dieppe, 15 July 1828).

[23] Rossini's lifetime annuity was placed in jeopardy when the Civil List was cut from 40 million francs per year to 12 million. Only after six years of wrangling was he able to secure a suitable pension, see Osborne, *Rossini*, p. 83. Paganini had mocked Rossini's flight from the cholera epidemic in a letter 'Rossini has fled from fear; I myself, on the other hand, fear nothing as a result of my desire to be useful to humanity.' ['Rossini a fui sous le coup de la peur; moi, au contraire je ne crains riens du désir d'être utile à l'humanité'], Edward Neill, *Paganini*, trans. Sylviane Falcinelli (Paris: Fayard, 1991), p. 226. Berlioz had left Paris on 30 December 1830, Cairns, *Berlioz*, p. 397.

[24] Having begun the Restoration in Paris learning to paint from the flower painter Redouté, in Massa, Marie-Caroline was to take painting lessons from the politically controversial Romantic painter Hayez. This move from the botanical to the Romantic style in painting emphasised the cultural distance the duchess had travelled during the previous few years.

[25] A modern edition of *Giovanna d'Arco* for mezzo-soprano and piano is available in *Quaderni rossiniani*, ed. Fondazione Rossini (Pesaro: 1954-76), p. xi, and p. 1-29. The cantata was not performed in public until 1859, when Marietta Alboni sang it at a *soirée* in Rossini's home. It was orchestrated in the late-nineteenth century by Sciarrino.

time, and why in a cantata rather than an opera? Vigny's expression of repulsion against the outpouring of sympathetic works ('If something didn't repel me... ') may well have borne witness to a connection between Rossini's cantata and the duchess's insurrection. Was Rossini one who was, in Vigny's words, 'preparing favours for the future'?

Jeanne d'Arc and the Restoration

The probability of a connection between Rossini's *Giovanna d'Arco* and the insurrection of the Duchesse de Berry in 1832 is supported by an examination of the varying perspectives on Jeanne d'Arc during the Restoration. By focussing on probable earlier associations between the duchess and Jeanne, we can interpret Rossini's cantata with a closer cultural understanding.

The memory of Jeanne d'Arc had been a cultural and intellectual preoccupation for the French ever since her execution in 1431. The expedience of Jeanne d'Arc as an icon for the Bourbons had been appreciated throughout the Restoration, and her image was to persist as France's historical 'Marianne' throughout the nineteenth century. Jeanne's eventual canonisation in May 1920 confirmed important religious associations that had been brewing around her for centuries. Unquestionably, the works that celebrated the history of Jeanne d'Arc during the Restoration also highlighted the duplicitous nature of the iconography that portrayed her life and death.

Even though interpretations of Jeanne d'Arc's story were often limited to the less astringent aspects, Jeanne offered the cultural world an axiomatic symbol of victimisation, betrayal, self-sacrifice and redemption.[26] Her physical representation took on different guises that added to the versatility of her story; portraits wavered between representations of a feminine country girl, a pageboy, and a warrior. As both the 'Marianne' of Frenchness

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[26] Similar examples of self-sacrifice were to infiltrate the repertoire of composers throughout the nineteenth century, stemming in part from Fenella's sacrificial death in Auber's *La Muette*. In Wagner's *Der Fliegende Holländer* (1843) Senta throws herself into the sea, and in *Tannhäuser* (1845) the saintly Elizabeth forgives her betrayal by Tannhäuser, dying in despair at his apparent demise. Wagner's Brünnhilde takes her own life on a burning pyre to redeem the misdeeds of the gods in *Götterdämmerung* (1876) at the end of *Der Ring des Nibelungen*.

('queen of the people'), and saviour of the king, Jeanne d'Arc's iconisation was haunted by the ambivalence of her story. Jeanne's liberation of the city of Orléans was, after all, only one part of her story. As a victor, she released Orléans from the usurping English, but as a victim, she was captured at Compiègne and sold by her countrymen to the English, who dubbed her a witch, and then burned her at the stake in Rouen on 30 May 1431.[27]

Jeanne's sacrificial death was equatable with the religious symbolism of Louis XVI's beheading (despite her humble lineage), for the uncomfortable reason that culpability in her sacrifice fell to the French people just as it had fallen to the regicides of 1793.[28] Jeanne's death was also, however, partly due to the negligence of the French king she had sought to protect. From this angle the issue was complicated: culpability for Jeanne d'Arc's death fell to both the English and the French monarchies. What was brought to the forefront during the early nineteenth-century revivals of Jeanne, was that her initial heroic quest for French liberation had received the unconditional support of the French people during her lifetime, and the collusion of some of her countrymen in her death had created a divided France. Thus, France had acted first with unity, then with division in a way that was similar to the experience of the French of the early nineteenth century, who were affected by similarly divided loyalties. A growing historical interest in Jeanne d'Arc and her usefulness as a propagandist icon was apparent during the early Restoration. The nineteenth-century historian Jules Michelet commented that Jeanne d'Arc had provided 'a new spiritual identity for the French collectivity, filling the void created by the death of Louis XVI'.[29] Parallels between the restitution of Charles VII and the return of the Bourbons after 1815 were obvious. The complex historical background to the representations of Jeanne d'Arc during the early nineteenth century allowed the allegory to work on several levels that answered to propaganda, historical positivism, aesthetic taste, spiritualism, and sentimentalism, and from a twenty-first century perspective at least, we must add feminism.

From the onset of the Restoration, the news that Louis XVIII had been installed as the king of France prompted comparisons with the triumphant return from exile of the Jeanne-

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[27] The siège d'Orléans took place on 8 May 1429. Charles VII was crowned at Reims on 17 July 1429, and Jeanne was burned at the stake some time between January and May 1431.

[28] Jules Michelet's course at the Sorbonne in 1834 (Michelet, *Joan of Arc*, trans. Albert Guérard (1842; repr. Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press, 1992) generates some of Dunn's discussion about France's guilt in the death of Jeanne d'Arc in *The Deaths of Louis XVI*, p. 42.

[29] Dunn, *The Deaths of Louis XVI*, p. 38.

d'Arc-king Charles VII in 1429, prompted as these were by her divine visitation. From that auspicious beginning, the Bourbons used Jeanne d'Arc to bolster their public image as legitimate and heaven-sent vanquishers. However, not all those interested in Jeanne's story were of royalist persuasion, and the burgeoning group of liberal historians was unearthing primary documentation about Jeanne that shed light on the extent of her own compatriots' involvement in her death.[30]

Nevertheless, the pro-Bourbon iconography of Jeanne d'Arc continued to take centre stage. In 1818 and 1819 several Parisian works about Jeanne coincided with the celebrations that followed the removal of foreign troops from France during the exceptionally beautiful autumn of 1818.[31] The *Courrier des Spectacles* of 20 March 1819 reported that Parisian stages were honoured with a total of six Jeannes. In addition to these, on 11 June 1819, the Théâtre du Vaudeville presented *Le Procès de Jeanne d'Arc, ou le Jury littéraire*, a one-act *parodie* of the recent Jeanne d'Arc productions.[32] This parody mimicked Jeannes from the Français, the Vaudeville, and the Cirque Olympique, 'the one shown at Orléans', and that of 'Chapelain'.[33] In *Le Procès*, each Jeanne is compelled to defend her presence on the Parisian

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[30] The influence of Jeanne d'Arc on the French Romantic output had been headed during the *ancien régime* by Voltaire's *La Pucelle* (1755), which was followed some fifty years later by Schiller's drama *Die Jungfrau von Orleans* (1802), whose plot relied on Shakespeare's *Henri IV, Part I.* Biographies of Jeanne from the early Restoration include those by the ultra-royalist writer and politician Louis-Antoine-François de Marchangy, who refused to show Jeanne's suffering, preferring to create a semi-religious allegory in his history *La Gaule Poétique, ou l'Histoire de France considérée dans ses rapports avec la poésie, l'éloquence et les beaux arts*, 8 vols (Paris: C. F. Patris, 1815-1817). Marchangy suggested that those who wanted a more pragmatic approach should read the Jeanne d'Arc biography by Lebrun de Charmettes (1817). Other biographers included the playwright Casimir Delavigne (1819 and 1824) and the royalist Prosper de Barante (1824-26). Writers' awareness of the growing discourse on Jeanne before 1820 is spelled out in A. M. Jollois, *Histoire abrégée de la vie et des exploits de Jeanne d'arc surnommée la pucelle d'Orléans suivie d'une notice descriptive du monument érigé a sa mémoire, à Domrémy* [...] *et de la fête d'inauguration célébrée le 10 septembre 1820* (Paris: P. Didot, l'ainé, 1821). Jollois describes the depth of his contemporaries' studies, many of which marked the onset of writers' use of original source materials in historical writing. A further work, M. P. Caze's *La Vérité sur Jeanne d'Arc* (Paris: Rosa, 1819) tried to prove that Jeanne was the daughter of Isabelle of Bavaria and the Duc d'Orléans (brother of Charles VI), see Dunn, *The Deaths of Louis XVI*, p. 40.

[31] Duneton, *Histoire de la chanson*, vol. 2, p. 736. The probability that works about Jeanne d'Arc at this time were linked to the withdrawal of the foreign troops, is supported by the production of *L'Anglais de retour, ou Ils sont chez eux*, premièred at the Vaudeville in December 1818.

[32] *Le Procès* was by Armand D'Artois, Dupin and Carmouche.

[33] Since September 1818, *La Maison de Jeanne-d'Arc* by Périn and De Rougemont had been showing at the Odéon; it was also produced at the Vaudeville almost concurrently. Loeuillard D'Avrigny's *Jeanne d'Arc à Rouen* (4 May 1819) was at the Théâtre Français. *L'épée de Jeanne d'Arc, ou les*

stage. To the disgust of her rivals the Jeanne performing at the Théâtre Français, defending herself elegantly in rhyming couplets, is deemed to be the supreme Jeanne.

In addition to written material, painters and engravers revelled in the opportunity to portray Jeanne heroically facing her English enemies at the walls of Orléans. Painters Pierre Révoil and Paul Delaroche contributed notably to this trend in 1819 and 1824.[34] In 1820 Louis XVIII ordered the installation of a statue in celebration of Jeanne d'Arc in her hometown Domrémy. Through an association with Jeanne d'Arc's help in restoring Charles VI, Louis XVIII could be seen to offer gratitude to his people for their help in his return from exile. This commemorative statue also placed Jeanne d'Arc figuratively on a historical pedestal next to Henri IV (whose statue had been inaugurated the previous year on the Pont Neuf in Paris). Thus, too, the timing of the 1820 inauguration in Domrémy coincided with the arrival of the Duc de Bordeaux, as pointed out in the *avant-propos* of a biography of Jeanne d'Arc by M. Jollois (published in 1821).[35] Jeanne had evidently become an allegory for the Duchesse de Berry, who was propagating the 'Lily of France' with her 'virgin birth':

> Recalling, in effect, the memory of Jeanne d'Arc, who, through her virtues and her supernatural courage, has strengthened the throne of the Lilies, was a sure way to capture the interest of the grandson of Saint Louis, who is himself miraculously substituted on this throne.

The idea that the descendants of France's great monarchic icons were acting vicariously for their forebears (the Duc de Bordeaux 'was' Saint Louis) attested to the Bourbons' irrational belief in the power of the blood line.

Cinq ... demoiselles (1 June 1819) by Lafillard, Maréchalle and Charles Hubert was at the Porte-Saint-Martin (its text is available at the Bibliothèque de l'Opéra, Paris (shelfmark: Livret. 19 2297 a.)).

[34] Pierre Révoil's *Jeanne d'Arc, prisonnière à Rouen* (1819) portrayed Jeanne in troubadour style as a stark yet emotional Christ-like figure, imbued with masculinity. Paul Delaroche's *Jeanne d'Arc malade est interrogée dans sa prison par le cardinal de Vinchester* (1824) is melodramatic and sentimental. For a discussion of these paintings see Wright, *Painting and History*, p. 78-90. For a detailed study of Delaroche's historical interest see Stephen Bann, *Delaroche, History Painted* (London: Reaktion Books, 1997).

[35] 'Rappeler en effet le souvenir de Jeanne d'Arc, qui, par des vertus et un courage surnaturels, a raffermi le trône des Lis, c'était un moyen sûr d'intéresser le petit-fils de saint Louis, qui est lui-même replacé miraculeusement sur ce trône' M. Jollois, *Histoire abrégée de la vie et des exploits de Jeanne d'Arc*, 'Avant-propos'.

The Restoration's focus on the history of Jeanne d'Arc was mostly levelled at her achievements in Orléans, not on her betrayal by the French and her subsequent execution (paralleled as these were by the betrayal and execution of Louis XVI). When Michele Carafa set to music Théaulon's and D'Artois's three act *opéra-comique* libretto *Jeanne d'Arc, ou la Délivrance d'Orléans*, the work's première at the Opéra-Comique (10 March 1821) was only a stone's throw away from the celebrations for the baptism of the Duc de Bordeaux.[36] The conservative tone of the libretto implied royalist sympathies on the part of the librettists, who embraced the idea of heavenly intervention without compromise. Jeanne's incitement by a divine visitor to rise up in protection of her king, was reviewed by the *Courrier des spectacles* six months after the work's première (and almost exactly one year after the birth of the Duc de Bordeaux):

> They are showing Jeanne d'Arc conceding to a celestial inspiration, reawakening in her king feelings of hope, and in her warriors' courage, planting with her victorious hands the standard of the lily on the ramparts of Orléans. Already she believed she could hear the voice of Heaven, which was commanding her to go to Charles's aid [...]. Overwhelmed by tiredness, she lets herself slip into sleep, and a dream that is realised before the eyes of the spectators shows the patron of Paris who, from the heights of the celestial sojourn, orders her to fulfil her destiny.[37]

In 1820 this dream scene had been pre-empted in real-life in a striking example of Duchesse de Berry iconography. During her 'miraculous' pregnancy, Marie-Caroline wrote to the Comte de Brissac about a dream in which (she professed) she saw heavenly bodies delivering a baby boy.[38] The news of the duchess's vision was taken up with excitement in the national

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[36] *Jeanne d'Arc, ou la Délivrance d'Orléans*, a *drame lyrique* in three acts by Théaulon and D'Artois, with music by Carafa, was premièred at the Opéra-Comique on 10 March 1821. The libretto (Paris: Martinet, 1821), is available in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Opéra (shelfmark: Livret 19 OC 317). For a reduced score see *Partition de Jeanne d'Arc, opéra en trois actes. Paroles de Messieurs Theaulon et Dartois* (Paris: Chez Carli, [1821]), Bibliothèque Nationale, Musique (shelfmark: Vm^5 959).

[37] 'on nous montre Jeanne d'Arc cédant à une inspiration céleste, réveillant dans sa roi les sentiments de l'espérance et le courage de ses guerriers, plantant de ses mains victorieuses l'étendard des lys sur les ramparts d'Orléans [...]. Déjà elle a cru entendre la voix du Ciel qui lui commande d'aller au secour de Charles [...]. Accablée de fatigue, elle se laisse aller au sommeil, et un songe qui se réalise aux yeux des spectateurs lui montre la patronne de Paris qui, du haut du séjour céleste lui ordonne d'achever ses destinées.' *Courrier des spectacles* (2 October 1821).

[38] See the text for Rosset, *Collection de Vinck*, vol. 5, no. 10663 and no. 10664. The Parisian journals took up the story, and it was printed in H. de Père, *Henri de France* (Paris: Oudin, 1883).

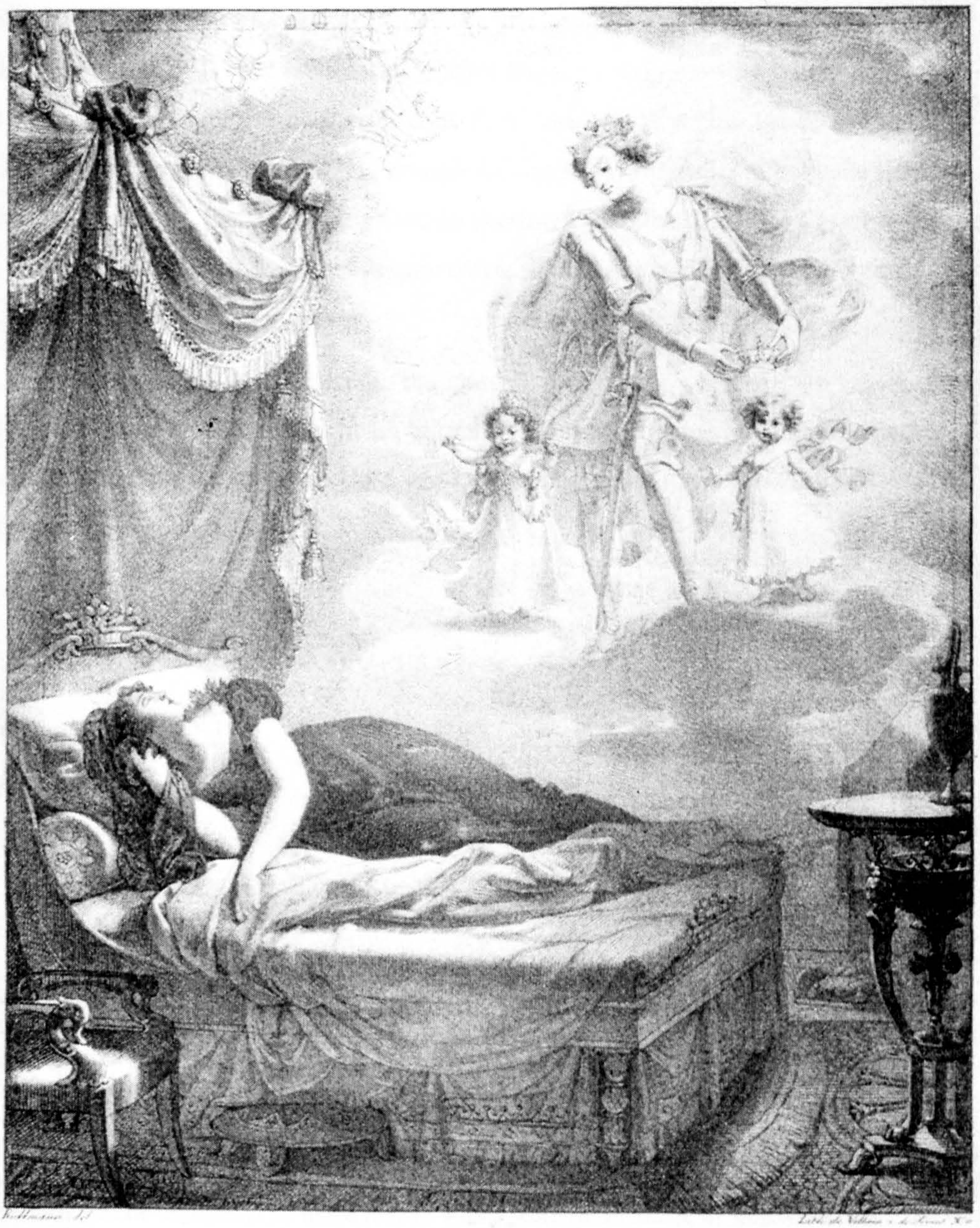

Plate 16: La Vision maternelle.

press and in commercial prints. In *La Vision maternelle*, one of several copycat visual images, the duchess is shown lying asleep on her bed with her face upturned. Within the marvellous light that falls over the scene, the faint image of St Louis with two children is visible. The accompanying verse-form text by P. A. Vieillard describes the dream as a celestial premonition (see Plate 16).[39] Through the three-way referencing between the Domrémy celebrations, the birth of the Duc de Bordeaux, and the timing of Carafa's *Jeanne d'Arc*, we can connect perceptions of Jeanne d'Arc to the annunciation to the Virgin Mary, and to Marie-Caroline de Berry.

The *Romance* that was to become the flagship of Carafa's work held up values of patriotism as Jeanne mused on her dream to represent France against the invading nation. Carafa's music is restrained: by her third verse she is beginning to elaborate her simple melody sparingly (see Ex. 36):

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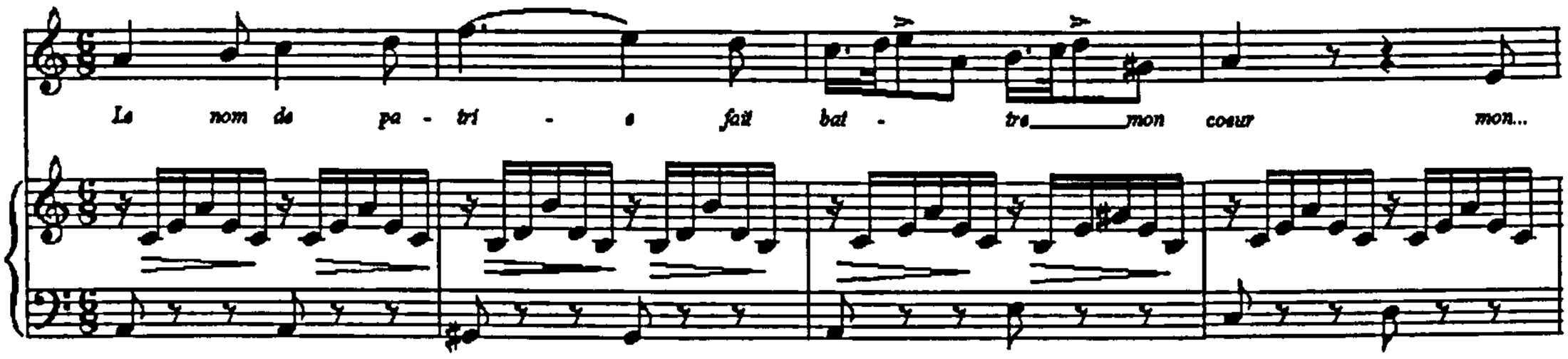
[39] Rosset, *Collection de Vinck*, vol. 5, no. 10664: *The Maternal Vision*, the Duchesse de Berry sees St Louis appear in a dream, accompanied by Mademoiselle [d'Artois, Marie-Caroline's surviving daughter] and a little boy that he crowns' ['La Vision Maternelle', la Duchesse de Berry voit apparaître en songe St Louis, accompagnée de Mademoiselle et d'un petit garçon qu'il coronne'. In the margin is 'To whom does his hand destine this crown on which pure gold glistens?' ['A qui sa main destine-t-elle cette couronne où l'or pur étincelle?']. The lithograph, by Villain R. de Sèvres, was deposited on 24 May 1820. Accompanying it were five verses by P. A. Vieillard ('Tu régneras, race chérie,/ Et de martyrs et de héros [etc.]), which were set to music by Ferdinand Paër. See *La Vision maternelle, chant élégique pour une voix seule de soprano ou tenore, avec accompagnement de piano paroles de Mr Vieillard, musique de Mr Paër [...] dédié à Madame la Duchesse de Berry (avec permission de SAR)* (Paris: Carli [s.d.]).

The song is cantata-like in proportion, alternating several sections of recitative with lyric 'airs' and ending with a short four-part chorus. During the Restoration, in addition to his work as court composer, and at the helm of the Académie Royale de Musique, Paër was also the Duchesse de Berry's singing teacher.

The subtitle for a similar image (no. 10695) dated 1820 reads: 'The Marvellous Vision'. Allegory: the Duchesse de Berry symbolising France, sees the Duc de Berry accompanied by four angels, drop, from the highest heavens, lilies and roses on the crib in which sleeps a newborn' ['Le Songe merveilleux' Allégorie: la Duchesse de Berry symbolisant la France, voit le Duc de Berry accompagné de 4 anges, faire tomber, du haut du ciel, des lis et des roses sur le berceau où dort un nouveau-né].

Ex. 36: Jeanne - *Romance*



Elsewhere, D'Artois's text for Carafa's opera was too sentimental to maintain a strong political tone throughout: after all, D'Artois went so far as to have Jeanne's family misinterpret her vision as love-sickness. Through his underplaying of the story's propagandist potential, D'Artois side-lined the call to patriotism, and in doing so he opened the work to a wider audience. The *Courrier des Spectacles* of 12 March 1821 was not convinced that such manipulations were advantageous:

> The subject of this piece has not only got the inconvenience of being worn out; it is also extremely arid for the authors who undertake to treat it [...]. M. Carafa has exploited the poem as if it were his own, and has added so much of his own material that the bequest has nearly disappeared beneath the score to which it gave its *raison d'être* [...]. Being original is problematic with scenarios that are so commonplace.[40]

The reviewer of 12 March had, however, criticised the manner in which the quality of the music in Carafa's *opéra-comique* dissipated towards the end of the work:

> The music is otherwise ambitious, and often this pretension is becoming. The overture has spirit and originality; many motifs excited a general satisfaction. The airs of the first act are expressive; the harmony that accompanies them gives way, in the second

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[40] 'Le sujet de cette pièce n'a pas que le seul inconvénient d'être usé, il est encore extrêmement aride pour les auteurs qui entreprendront de le traiter [...]. M. Caraffa a usé du poëme comme de chose à lui-appartenante, et il y a mis du sien tant et tant que le cadeau a presque disparu sous la partition à laquelle il a donné lieu [...]. Il est difficile d'être neuf dans des situations aussi communes.' *Courrier des spectacles* (12 March 1821).

act, to a soft melody where in fact one would like more positive ideas. The songs of the warriors recall that which one already knows of this genre, but they are well written [...]. The musical effect diminishes palpably in the third act where the action tries to take the lead. The invocation of Mme Agnès-Boulanger has only the merit of being well sung. The choruses that end the two first acts are beautiful and have a strong command over the spectators' spirits [...] the duo between Dunois and Jeanne, the first air of Charles, the second of Agnès-Sorel, etc., have their answer perhaps in the excessive zeal with which the actors imbued it [...]. The music is strong, learned and expansive; perhaps it lacks something in the way of theatrical forms.[41]

On 9 May 1821, as the production ran into its third month, the *Courrier* indicated that the music was interesting enough to sustain what was otherwise becoming a tired dramatic subject:

> Jeanne, fatigued by her initial triumphs, rests against her score, which is certainly well capable of sustaining her.[42]

Parisian audiences' satiation with the tale of Jeanne d'Arc explained the reluctance of more front-line librettists and composers to commit themselves to it. Four years after the première of Carafa's *opéra-comique*, however, the last significant attempt at setting Jeanne on the Restoration stage came from Alexandre Soumet (1788-1845). His *Jeanne d'Arc*, a *tragédie* at the Odéon, premièred on 14 March 1825, was clearly timed to coincide with Charles X's coronation. Soumet was certainly adopting a royalist mode at the time of writing: just three months after the première of his *Jeanne d'Arc*, he was to collaborate on *Pharamond*, the Opéra's *pièce de circonstance* for the coronation, which was premièred in June 1825. Soumet's Romantic tendency was evidenced in the dramatic style of his play,

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[41] 'La musique en est autrement ambitieuse, et souvent cette prétention lui sied. L'ouverture a de l'esprit et de l'originalité, plusieurs motifs ont excité la satisfaction générale. Les airs du premier acte sont expressifs; l'harmonie qui les accompagne, fait place, dans le second acte, à une douce mélodie où pourtant on voudrait plus d'idées positives. Les chants guerriers rappellent ce que l'on connaît de ce genre, mais ils sont bien écrits [...]. L'effet musical diminue sensiblement au troisième acte où l'action cherche à prendre le dessus. L'invocation de Mme Agnès-Boulanger n'a que le mérite d'être bien chantée. Les chœurs qui terminent les deux premiers actes, sont beaux et d'une grand puissance sur l'âme des spectateurs [...] le duo de Dunois et de Jeanne, le premier air de Charles, le second du rôle d'Agnès-Sorel, etc., auraient peut-être leur réponse dans l'excès même du zèle que les acteurs y ont mis [...]. La musique est forte, savante et d'une facture large; peut-être lui manque-t-il quelques formes théâtrales.' *Courrier des spectacles* (12 March 1821).

while his use of verse form reflected his stylistic loyalty to the disciplines of the *ancien régime*. His *tragédie* climaxes with the coronation of Charles VII in 1429, thus spelling out the parallels between the fifteenth-century coronation and that of Charles X in 1825. In Act 1, scene 1, the imprisoned heroine recollects with relief the fact that Charles VII has been returned to power. The lilting respectful rhymes and predictable turns of phrase evoked images of heavenly gatherings that were in keeping with the style of text-writing for Restoration *pièces de circonstance*:

Reims ouvrait devant nous ses murs exempts d'alarmes	Reims opened its freed walls before us.
Le calme succédait au tumulte des armes;	Calmness succeeded the tumult of arms;
Et, pour recommencer dix siècles de splendeur,	And, to recommence ten centuries of splendour,
La France, libre enfin reprenait sa grandeur.	France, free at last took up its grandeur.
Ma bannière flottait de guirlandes ornée	My banner floated, decorated with garlands
Charles était dans le temple, et sa tête inclinée,	Charles was in the temple, his head inclined,
Attendait humblement le signe précieux	Waiting humbly for the precious sign
Qui donne aux rois du monde un appui dans les cieux.[43]	Which gives the world's kings authority in heaven.

The mainstay of Soumet's *tragédie* was its political content, which was daring in one particular respect. Whereas in most early stagings of the Jeanne d'Arc legend Jeanne was either saved, or the issue of her death was evaded, in Soumet's work Jeanne ultimately had to face execution. Jeanne laid the blame at the feet of the English: in her final scene she states 'English, disappear, France rejects you' ['Anglais, disparaissez, la France vous rejette']. By portraying Jeanne's death as the result of her heroic resistance to invading nations, Soumet was able to revoke France's own guilt in the death of Jeanne, as well as to suggest a need for French unanimity during the Restoration. Such a strategic historical depiction at the time of the coronation in 1825 meant that Charles X could assume the French throne without contrition.

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[42] 'Jeanne, fatiguée de ses premiers triomphes, se repose appuyée sur sa partition, qui certes, est bien capable de la soutenir.' *Courrier des spectacles* (9 May 1821).

[43] The libretto for Soumet's *Jeanne d'Arc*, published in 1825 by Barba, is available in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Opéra (shelfmark: Livret 19 1271a).

The theatre critic Delaforest dealt at some length with the differences between Carafa's *opéra-comique* and Soumet's *tragédie*.[44] According to Delaforest, Soumet had been presented with a challenge in the form of Loeuillard d'Avrigny's 1819 *Jeanne d'Arc à Rouen* at the Comédie-Française.[45] While D'Avrigny's neo-classical play had not been considered a quality work, it had been successful and had remained in the repertoire.[46] In Delaforest's opinion D'Avrigny's work was exaggeratedly anti-English (although not one of the 'obscene and dangerous farces'), and he felt that Soumet managed to integrate these xenophobic sentiments more subtly.[47] By 1825, Delaforest considered the inherently anti-English feeling to be relatively abated: 'the new reign has singularly distanced and denatured the circumstances of 1814 and 1819'.[48] He described Soumet's *tragédie* as belonging to the 'heroic genre' inspired by the 'purest patriotism'.[49] Like Carafa and his *opéra-comique* in 1821, Soumet and his play were clearly in the service of the monarchy in 1825. Soumet's activities as a writer, however, also allied him to the musical world and, importantly, to Rossini's output; he was to write the libretto for Rossini's *Le Siège de Corinthe*, which appeared the following year. Seven years were to pass, however, before Rossini approached Jeanne d'Arc himself.

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[44] Delaforest, *Théâtre moderne*, vol. 2, p. 23-28 (15 March 1825).

[45] Charles-Joseph Loeillard D'Avrigny was one of Paris's theatrical censors until his death in 1823, Krakovitch, *Les Pièces de théâtre*, p. 24. For a discussion of D'Avrigny *Jeanne d'Arc*, see Michèle H. Jones, *Le Théâtre National en France de 1800 à 1830* (Paris: 1972).

[46] *Jeanne d'Arc à Rouen*, a five-act *tragédie*, was premièred on 4 May 1819.

[47] 'farces obscènes et dangereuses' Delaforest, *Théâtre moderne*, vol. 2, p. 26 (15 March 1825).

[48] 'le nouveau règne a singulièrement éloigné et dénaturé les circonstances de 1814 et de 1819' Delaforest, *Théâtre moderne,* vol. 2, p. 26 (15 March 1825).

[49] 'genre héroïque [...] du plus pur patriotisme' Delaforest, *Théâtre moderne*, vol. 2, p. 27 (15 March 1825).

The vigilance of *Giovanna d'Arco*

How did the music of Rossini's cantata correspond to the iconographical parallels between Jeanne d'Arc and the Duchesse de Berry? *Giovanna d'Arco*, like an operatic excerpt, amounts to an extended *gran scena*. Two extended lyric sections (firstly a sentimental reverie and secondly a *bravura* war cry) are separated by contrasting recitatives that flit schizophrenically from one mood to another. Rossini's *Giovanna d'Arco* covers a vast plane of emotional experience, focussing on only one dramatic event, and on the voice of only one character. The cantata represents a tantalising fragment, one that brims with expressive potential and recommends itself to formal extension and orchestration. Although Rossini had received propositions from librettists after that time (including from Auber for *Gustave III*), he had withdrawn from operatic composition after *Guillaume Tell* (1829). Operas on Faust and Jeanne d'Arc had, however, been playing on his mind, but never came to any stages of realisation.[50]

Rossini's *Giovanna d'Arco*, which depicts a nocturnal scene, parallels the *romance* in Carafa's *opéra-comique*. In Rossini's cantata, however, Giovanna is presented within a non-mystical context as a warrior on the verge of delirium, and with strong dramatic contours that remind us of the Italian coloratura style familiar to contemporary French audiences through other dramatic female roles. The subjective nature of the text, reflecting Giovanna's isolation, goes some way towards justifying Rossini's choice of medium. Giovanna is a passionate Amazon rather than a goddess. Set well within the mezzo range, Giovanna's deep voice offers masculinity (Jeanne as Charles VII's substitute son?), but also maturity (Jeanne as a leader?), and her musings represent an idealised Romantic soul-searching. Giovanna leads a rebellious force, she is alone and vigilant in her command of others, and she is steadfast in the protection of her king.

In the first half of the cantata Rossini characterises Giovanna's heroic fervour with a succession of episodic recitatives that reveal her unsettled state. Here her mood is subdued and pensive, expressed economically, and barely restrained (aided by detailed dynamic-markings that are dominated by *pianissimo*). In the subsequent lyric sections her expression

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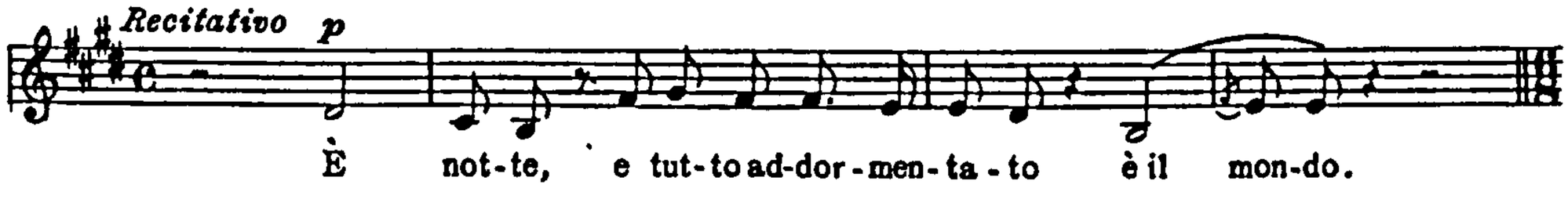
[50] 'Abandoning all plans to write an opera on the subject of Faust or Joan of Arc [...]' Osborne, *Rossini*, p. 264.

is more extravagant. Here, Rossini conveys Giovanna's emotional struggle about her imminent battle with sharp contrasts of mood that are underpinned by their strong harmonic direction. Beginning in E major, the cantata moves through a middle section that centres on C, E^b and A^b before returning to E. The introductory section on the piano (b. 1-51) shifts spasmodically between representations of intimidation and bravura, sowing the seeds of thematic material that will be repeated throughout the cantata. In the introduction, the potential for orchestration is implied through statuesque quasi-ecclesiastical chords (suggestive of brass, b. 21-25) that dissolve into single held notes (doubling as horn calls, b. 25), and through shuddering triplet figures (suggesting strings, b. 29) which fragment the musical texture, and then reappear as a fading fanfare (suggestive of trumpets, b. 47-50). Intermittent rising and falling arpeggio figures offer a delicate textural contrast that highlights Giovanna's femininity, vulnerability and isolation, while chromatic inflections (b. 35-47) allude to her fear and uncertainty.

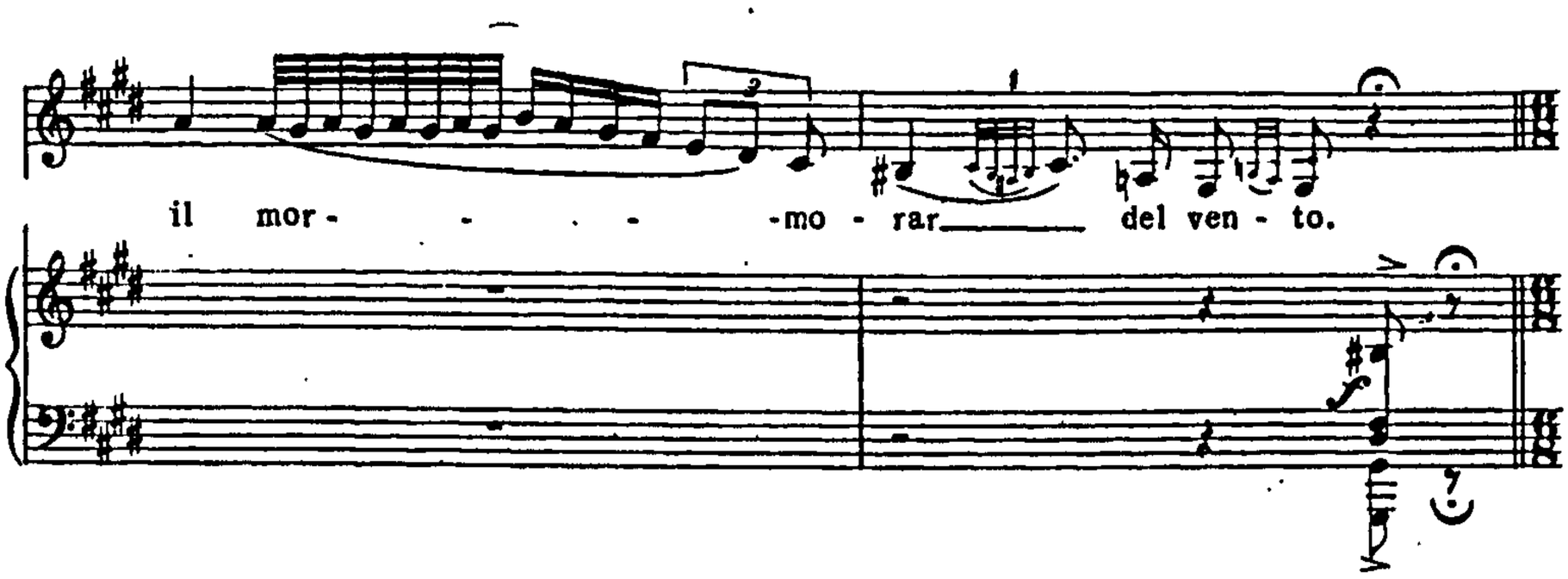
Giovanna's opening text 'È notte, e tutto addormentato' ('It is night-time and all are sleeping') is forceful, even masculine in its pragmatic resignation and deep tessitura (see Ex. 37). Night has fallen, and all are sleeping; Giovanna watches over her soldiers like a guardian angel:

Ex. 37: Giovanna - 'E notte, e tutto addormentato'



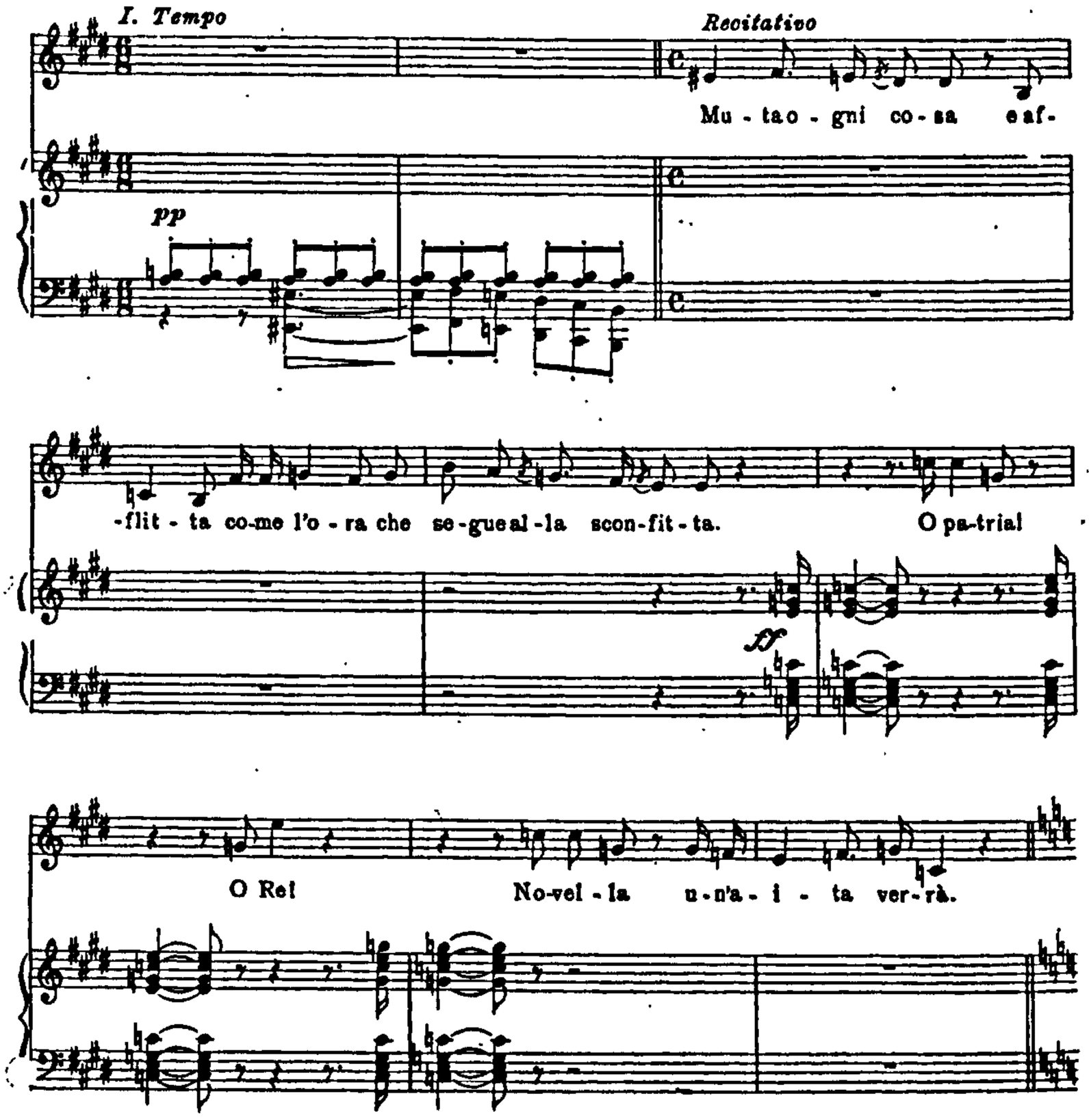
The nine piano bars that separate these first two vocal utterances refer back to the introduction, with the effect that both delay tantalisingly the continuation of Giovanna's text and indicating that she has time for contemplation. Giovanna offers successive fragmentary thoughts and is at one with her environment. She becomes descriptively melismatic with phrases such as 'il mormorar del vento' ('the murmur of the wind', b. 72-73) (See Ex. 38):

Ex. 38: Giovanna - 'il mormorar del vento'



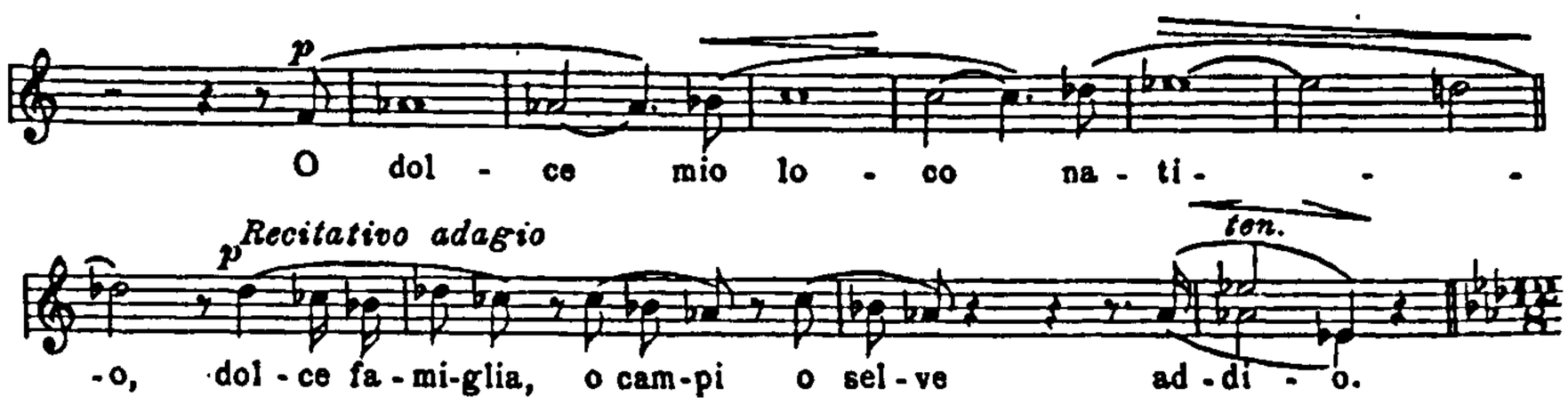
Her first dramatic outburst on 'O patria! O Re!' ('O homeland! O king!') dips strikingly onto a plateau of C major (the submediant), which inflicts a state of resigned heroic compromise, and yet instils hope (b. 83-91) (see Ex. 39):

Ex. 39: Giovanna – 'Muta ogni cosa'



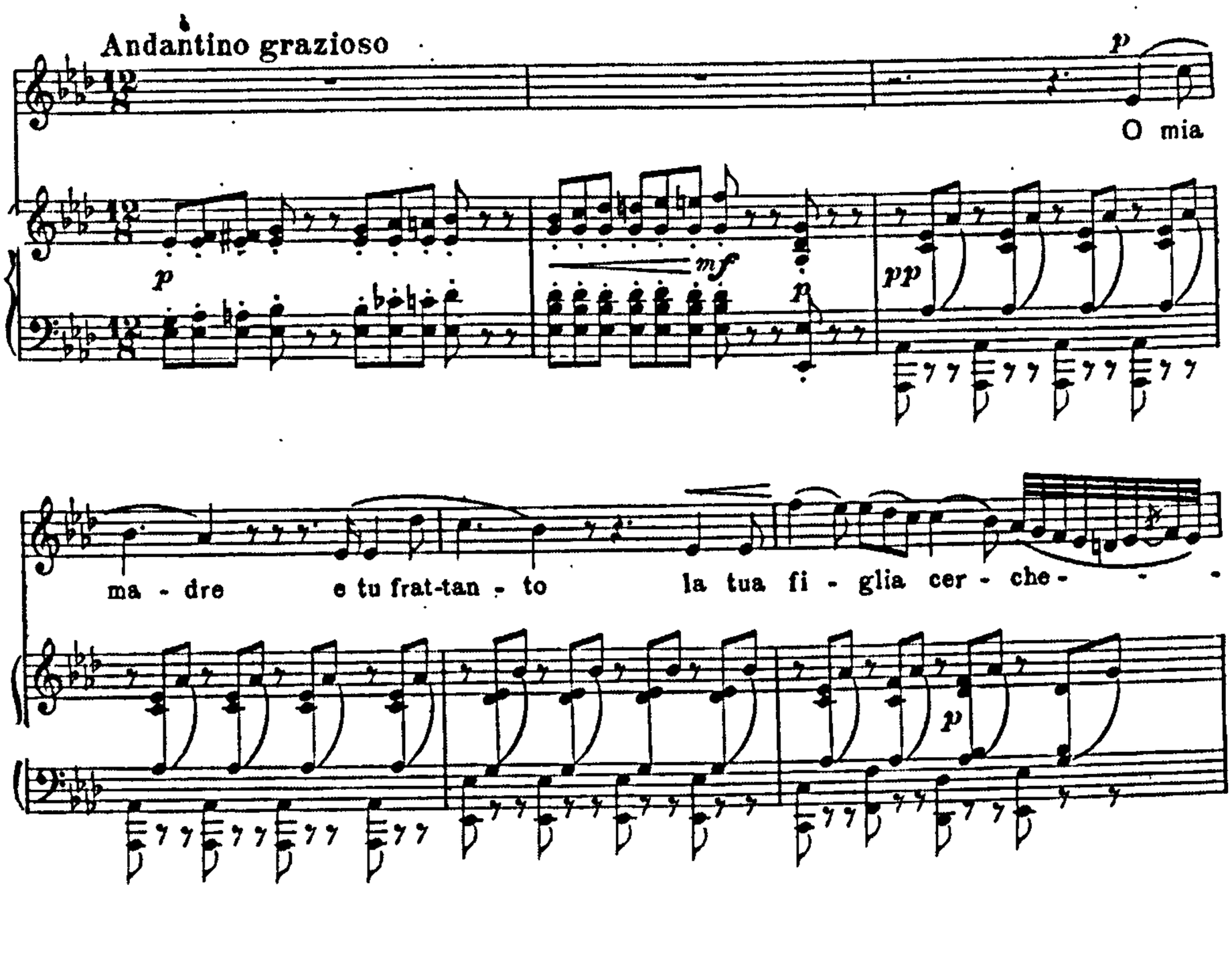
Moving from the reflective fumbling of her recitatives, Giovanna's first cavatina-like lyric section merely numbs her anguish. Hope is transformed into warm nostalgia with 'O dolce mio loco natio' ('O my sweet childhood home') which, with its a optimistic progression of rising fourths to E^b major slips briefly into a chorale-like prayer (see Ex. 40):

Ex. 40: Giovanna - 'O dolce mio loco natino'



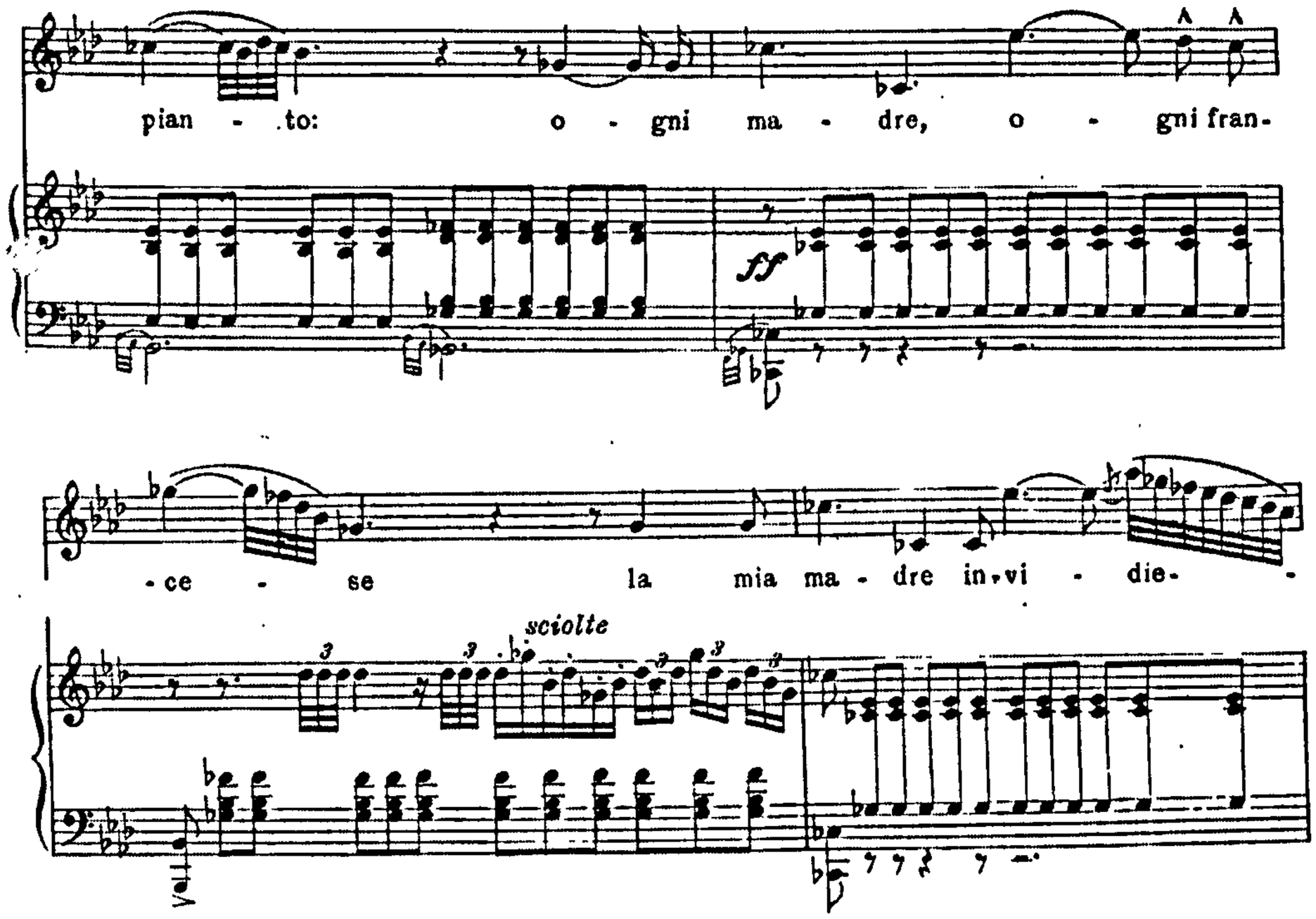
Giovanna sinks into a state of reverie, searching for reassurance in a celebration of her former life at 'O mia madre' ('O my mother', b. 105-136). Fixed in this contemplation she bids farewell to her mother and reveals a passion for her destiny that spills into expressive coloratura. With her assertive angular phrase on 'ogni madre, ogni francese' ('every mother, every Frenchman'), Giovanna links motherhood to patriotism (see Ex. 41):

Ex. 41: Giovanna – 'ogni madre, ogni francese'



Until this moment, Giovanna's internal world has been represented by the night. The appearance of daylight on 'repente qual luce balenò nel l'oriente' ('what light is streaming from the east', b. 145-149), is heralded by piano cascades that settle onto a vibrant C major chord (b. 147). Giovanna cannot now retract her militaristic plans. From this moment until the end of the cantata, she displays a strength of purpose that borders on irrationality. Her powerful outpouring on 'io vengo' ('I am coming') sustains an edgy F# above a recoiling chromatic cascade in the piano. With 'Ah, la fiamma' ('Oh, the flame'), for which the tonality is fixed on an ebullient E major, she shifts spontaneously into the *bravura* of her closing lyric section (see Ex. 42). Thus, paradoxically, if Giovanna's rational fears were reflected in her nocturnal doubts and lamentation, her irrational sense of omnipotence is reflected in her diurnal bravado.

Ex. 42: Giovanna - 'O la fiamma'

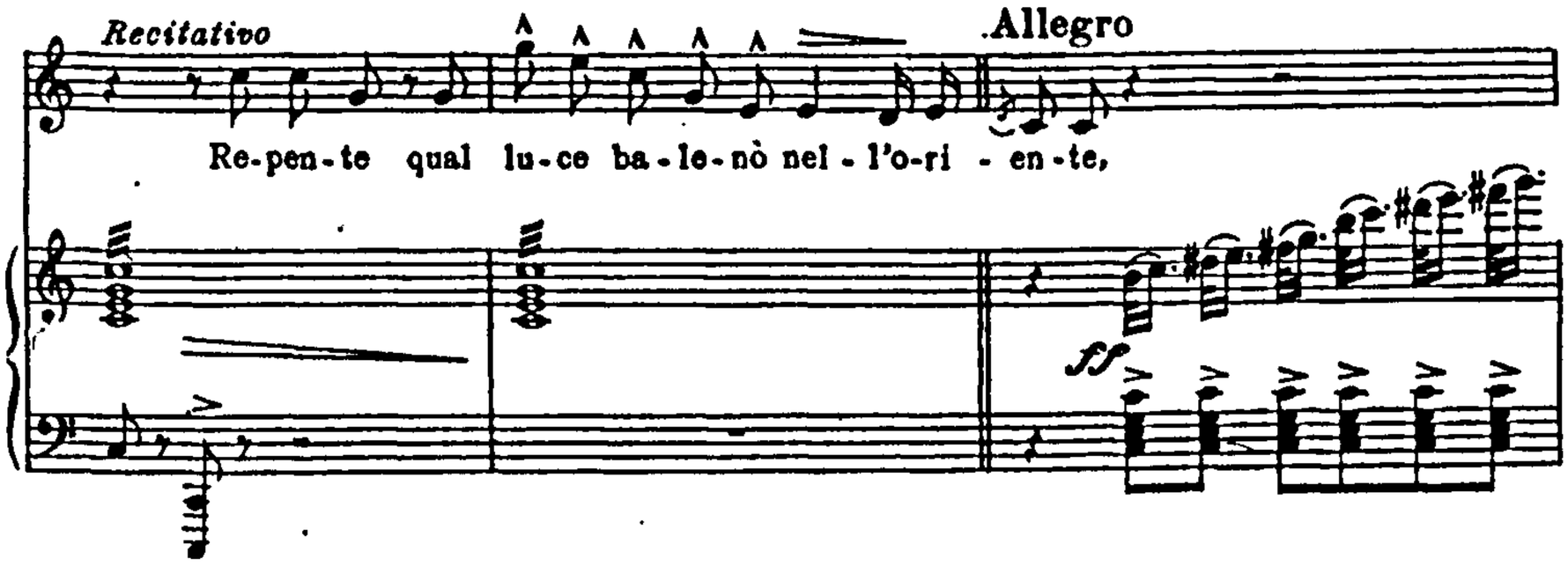


The wide expressive scope of the vocal writing in *Giovanna d'Arco* demonstrates the complexities of the protagonist's schizophrenic psyche. This is a courageous daughter facing the horrors of uncertain fate - a daughter who is daunted by the harshness of her situation. Giovanna longs for assistance, she is homesick, yet ultimately she must present herself as a courageous optimist.

The non-mystical context of Giovanna's contemplation represents a departure from recent French works about Jeanne d'Arc, which dwelt more on her visions and her militaristic success than on her psychological torment. In Carafa's 1821 *opéra-comique*, Jeanne's visions were the springboard of the drama, and in Soumet's 1825 *tragédie*, not only was Jeanne motivated by divine intervention, but Charles must also expect a visitation at his coronation. For Rossini, on the other hand, Giovanna is de-mystified. She becomes a powerfully human (and therefore a more intriguing) character. Although, for example, Giovanna describes the emerging light in the East as a visionary experience ('Ah! What light is streaming from the East? [...] you are my vision'), we feel sure that she is interpreting the breaking of dawn

metaphorically (see Ex. 43). When she calls the light her 'Angel of death', we know she is not truly expecting divine intervention.

Ex. 43: Giovanna - 'Ah! Repente qual luce balenò nel oriente'



Written in France in 1832 (although not performed then), Rossini's cantata was to remain in obscurity until the second half of the nineteenth century. It was sung at a musical evening to a select Parisian audience on 1 April 1859 by Mme Alboni, accompanied by Rossini himself. An account by Radiciotti of this performance made evident the heightened emotions of those present that evening; his comments leave the reader bemused as to why this work was held back so long:

> What was awaited impatiently was *Giovanna d'Arco*; *tout Paris* was already discussing the promised performance of this unpublished cantata at least two weeks ago. When Rossini, giving his arm to Alboni, approached the pianoforte to accompany this composition himself, all those present felt a shudder of emotion; the eyes of the ladies were bedewed with tears. One thought involuntarily of all the masterpieces developed in that vast brain, of *Tancredi, L'Italiana in Algeri, Il barbiere di Siviglia, Otello, La Cenerentola, La gazza ladra, Semiramide, Moise, Le Siège de Corinthe, Le Comte Ory, Guillaume Tell*, and other admirable conceptions, and one felt I do not know what sublime sensation at the thought that one was about to hear a still unknown work by that brilliant genius.
>
> At the moment for her to interpret her part, Mme Alboni was unable to control her own agitation. Mme Alboni, after the first measures, was able to overcome her panic;

she had never seemed so beautiful, so dramatic. At the end of the piece, she threw herself into the arms of Rossini, who pressed her emotionally to his heart. The success of this beautiful work was enormous: Auber, Sando, Poniatowski, Rothschild, Carafa, etc., surrounded the composer and loaded him with congratulations.[51]

Marie-Caroline as militant

An equestrian portrait of Marie-Caroline, entitled *La Duchesse de Berry* (see Plate 17), from the Epinal School, evokes the majesty of the François Girardon statue of Louis XIV which had graced the Place des Conquêtes after 1692.[52] Dating the portrait is difficult although, because it was paired with a portrait of the Duc de Berry, it probably dated from the early Restoration. Life prickles in every vein of the duchess's stallion-like horse. Mounted in side-view with 'sceptre' in hand, her hair (cut unflatteringly short) mimics the manner of a Roman leader, and her skirt falls in creases to look like trousers. She has heavy boyish eyebrows, lacks a facial expression, and is unemotional and symbolic.[53] The ornamental details in the portrait refer to the Roman style; even the signature 'Canivet fils, G.' is in Roman capitals. This is the Duchesse de Berry as figurehead of the legions, the conqueror, who from her position of leadership looks backwards, as though towards her nation, or back into history for sustenance.

Marie-Caroline's militant verve had been predicted as early as 1821 as evidenced in a lithograph dating from around 1821, which makes an allegorical reference to Athens (an allegorical synonym for Paris that lent the French capital some of the austerity and primacy of ancient Greece). It shows Minerva, the warfaring patron of Athens, in full army regalia,

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[51] Giuseppe Radiciotti, *Aneddoti rossiniani autentici* (Rome: 1929).

[52] The artist's name is not known, although an engraving in the same series comes from the Pellerin factory in the French town of Epinal. Rosset, *Collection de Vinck*, vol. 5, no. 10135. See Rosset, *Collection de Vinck*, vol. 5, no. 10134 for the Duc de Berry's portrait. François Girardon's bronze statue of Louis XIV (1692) was inaugurated in Paris in 1699.

[53] As we shall see in Chapter Six, the duchess cut her hair short after the assassination of the Duc de Berry; it was an act that confirmed her dedication to the crown.

S. A. R. MADAME LA DUCHESSE DE BERRY.

DE LA FABRIQUE DE PELLERIN, IMPRIMEUR-LIBRAIRE, A EPINAL.

Plate 17: S. A. R. Madame La Duchesse De Berry.

seated before a military tent suckling the infant Duc de Bordeaux.[54] At a time of heightened Carbonarist activity and other political reaction after the assassination of the Duc de Berry, the implication that Marie-Caroline could be identified with the 'Goddess of War' suggested a call to order for the Bourbons' opposition and went so far as to suggest that she (like Jeanne d'Arc) could be seen figuratively to be the 'Patron Saint of France' itself.

Such an image was brought to life in the real-life events of 1832. In a commentary that, as we shall see, resonates against the text of Rossini's *Giovanna d'Arco*, Mme de Gontaut enthused about the fervent support offered to the Duchess by her followers during her insurrection in 1832:

> Every sabre, every sword was raised in a sign of faithfulness; the hubbub became extensive, staggering.[55]

Gontaut was impressed by the duchess's command of her troops:

> Mme la Duchesse de Berry seemed to electrify them, because she spoke of glory and of hope. Among the soldiers, she was more than a woman who fears, this was a mother who hopes! She touched me a great deal.[56]

In the light of contemporary perceptions such as those of Mme de Gontaut, the image of Marie-Caroline as an inspirational female soldier cantering towards Paris certainly awakens associations with Jeanne d'Arc's campaign to lay siege against Orléans. It is possible to speculate that news of the duchess's plans may have influenced Rossini's decision to write a cantata about Jeanne d'Arc. The fact that between the première of Soumet's tragedy in 1825 and Rossini's *Giovanna d'Arco* in 1832 there had been no general resurgence of cultural interest in Jeanne d'Arc on the Parisian cultural circuit, underlines the coincidence between the cantata and real-life events.

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[54] *Allégorie: Minerve allaite le duc de Bordeaux qu'elle tient sur ses genoux et lui montre le portrait de la duchesse de Berry*, Rosset, *Collection de Vinck*, vol. 5, No. 10700.

[55] 'Chaque sabre, chaque épée fut élevée en signe de serment de fidelité; le brouhaha devint général, étourdissant' Gontaut, *Mémoires*, p. 289-90.

[56] 'Mme la duchesse de Berry me parut les électriser, car elle parlait de gloire et d'espérance. Parmi les soldats, elle était au-dessus de la femme qui craint, c'était la mère qui espère! Elle me toucha beaucoup' Gontaut, *Mémoires*, p. 289-90.

The potential for a comparison between Giovanna's plaint for Charles VII and those of the Duchesse de Berry for her son is clear. Thus, for the French public between 1825 and 1832 at least, Jeanne d'Arc could be identified as the protectress of 'Charles' (whether it be Charles VII or X). This symbolism holds true for Rossini's portrayal of Jeanne in 1832, and we can speculate that the Duchesse de Berry was in Rossini's mind. The duchess acts in protection of her own king (Charles X), but also in the name of her dead husband Charles-Ferdinand de Berry.

We can picture the duchess careering through the French countryside on horseback, aiming for an insurrection of proportions similar to those of Jeanne. Like Jeanne, she faced the possibility of failure. Like Jeanne, too, she was dressed at times in men's clothes and, still like Jeanne, she was eventually betrayed by her own supporters, and was incarcerated. Marie-Caroline had already made her militant tendencies known. During the three days of the July Revolution, she had been discussing the crisis with Charles X; as Adelaïde de Boigne related, the duchess felt restricted by the limitations of her femininity:

> Mme la Duchesse de Berry listened to everything, knew everything, her courage rising to a pitch of exaltation. To do nothing was torture for her, 'What unhappiness to be a woman!' she said to the king, to whom she offered to go into Paris and show herself to the crowds, even on horse-back. She received no other response than the severe order to remain, and to wait.[57]

On another occasion in July 1830, Marie-Caroline dressed herself in a masculine costume, armed herself with a pistol (which she fired repeatedly), and presented herself to the troops.[58] During the same month, in a scene of similarly incongruous theatricality, the duchess was reported to have burst into a room that was occupied by Charles X and the Duc de Maillé, firing a pistol in all directions. The Duc de Maillé was reported to have found this act of bravura 'Ab...o...mi...na...ble'.[59] If the portrait of the duchess on her horse reflected a

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[57] 'Mme la Duchesse de Berry écoutait tout, savait tout, son courage allait jusqu'à l'exaltation; ne rien faire était son supplice, 'Quel malheur d'être femme!" disait-elle au Roi, à qui elle offrait d'aller à Paris se montrer, même à cheval. Elle n'eut d'autre réponse que l'ordre sévère de rester et d'attendre.' Gontaut, *Mémoires*, p. 323.

[58] 'Vêtue d'un costume masculin et armée d'un pistolet qu'elle tirait à tout instant, elle prétendait se montrer aux troupes dans cet équipage' Boigne, *Mémoires*, vol. 2, p. 352-3.

[59] Boigne, *Mémoires*, vol. 2, p. 353.

desire to present her theatrically as an Amazon version of Jeanne d'Arc, then her actions in 1832 only served to confirm her own theatrical perception of herself.

Strong parallels exist between Rossini's representation of the Jeanne d'Arc story and the unfolding of the Duchesse de Berry's fortunes. The parallel of the divine dream is perhaps the most intriguing. During the early Restoration, both women had found their strength in the intervention of dreams; both Carafa and Soumet gave Jeanne nocturnal visions, while Rossini's Giovanna recognises the light of dawn to be a metaphorical vision. All these works were potentially linked in the French consciousness to the Duchesse de Berry because of the 'heavenly visitation' that she professed to have experienced. From the early Restoration, as has been suggested, several parallels between Jeanne d'Arc were clearly in evidence. Both Jeanne and Marie-Caroline were associated with virginity and divine visitations, and both women were to become the protectresses of the 'legitimate' king of France.

After July 1830, in the wake of the July Revolution and the cholera epidemic, hard reality was pressing down on France. By 1832, through Rossini's cantata on Jeanne d'Arc and the Duchesse de Berry's insurrection, the two women had been perceived to be both vulnerable and needy. Both Jeanne and the duchess had shown their muddied hands and tears of frustration, both women experienced extremes of emotion in the face of battle, and they each planned to save the crown single-handed. The Duchesse de Berry, like Jeanne, was facing her enemy with a dread of defeat, and eventually she, like Jeanne, was captured and imprisoned. Thus, both women demonstrated extraordinary daring and courage, yet they were conspicuously women who, dressing as men, acted on male territory, and were fighting against their feminine natures.

The diverse styles of Rossini's vocal writing in his cantata, depicting the emergence of Giovanna from subjectivity to delirium, call to mind various operatic roles that were familiar to the French Restoration public. In *Giovanna d'Arco*, we recognise Rossini's strong characterisation of the mezzo tessitura, which had suggested an unexpected maturity and command when it was used for the early performances of *La Cenerentola* in Italy, and for Rosina in *Il Barbiere*. Angelina in *La Cenerentola*, for example, is transformed after the resignation of her chaste opening cavatina 'Una volta c'era un re' ('Once upon a time there was a king'), becoming egocentric in her final determined, coloratura displays in 'Nacqui all'affanno' and 'Non più mesta' ('Born to ashes' and 'No longer alone'). Equally, Giovanna demonstrates a comparable protective vigilance over her king to that expressed by Angelina

in her cavatina. We could also align Giovanna's mutating emotional state with that of Rosina from 'gentile' to rapacious 'vipera' (in her cavatina 'Una voce poco fa' ['A voice not far away']). There is also something of the agonising psychological meandering of the 'mad scene' in the final scene of Donizetti's *Anna Bolena* (premièred at the Théâtre Italien on 1 September 1831), which pre-empted his *Marie Stuart* of 1836. The universally recognised trauma of Jeanne's execution at the stake reverberated in works that employed themes of female sacrifice and redemption.[60] As well as supporting the Restoration's interest in medievalism in French representation, Jeanne d'Arc provided a viable propagandist icon because of her faithfulness to her monarch.

Circumstantially, Rossini's *Giovanna d'Arco* cantata mirrors the astonishing developments in the duchess's life, and Vigny's comments bore witness to the vogue for commemorating her military endeavours with song ('I have no enthusiasm for her cause; and if I had, I would have gone and fought rather than sung'). For Vigny, at least, commemorative 'singing' was not necessarily a mark of respect; it was just as much symbolic of exhibitionism. Furthermore, the adoption of Jeanne d'Arc during the early Restoration as an icon for Bourbon success was floundering in newly uncovered historical doubts about the French involvement in her capture, imprisonment and execution.[61] Jeanne was, ambiguously, an icon that served monarchists and Republicans alike. Not only was the Duchesse de Berry's betrayal by Deutz paralleled by Jeanne's betrayal by the French, but it reflected on the betrayal of the Bourbons by their subjects at the end of the *ancien régime*. The parallel with July 1830 was clear. If the regicide of Louis XVI was, as we saw in the context of Auber's *Gustave III*, a metaphorical screen onto which writers could reflect their thoughts about the post-Restoration *Zeitgeist*, then the life of Jeanne d'Arc provided a comparable screen for the endeavours of Marie-Caroline de Berry.

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[60] The theme belonged to a tradition that emerged from the melodrama model. See David Charlton's study of female self-sacrifice and redemption in operas of the late eighteenth century in his chapter 'Storms, Sacrifices: the "Melodrama Model" in Opera' *French Opera 1730-1830: Meaning and Media* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000).

[61] As were emerging from the wave of historical research such as that by Lebrun de Charmettes (1817).

Chapter Six

Imprisonment:

Berlioz's *La Captive* and the Duchesse de Berry

Introduction

Berlioz's memoirs retell the moment during his Italian trip when he conceived his song *La Captive*:

> [...] it dates from one of my visits to Subiaco [early February 1832] and I remember the occasion. It was in the inn where we used to stay; I was watching my friend Lefebvre, the architect, drawing at a table, when a sudden movement of his elbow knocked a book onto the floor. I picked it up. It was a copy of Hugo's *Orientales*; it had fallen open at that enchanting poem 'La captive'. I read the poem, then turning to Lefebvre said, 'If only I had some manuscript paper, I would set this to music - I can *hear* it.'
>
> "Don't let that deter you - I'll make you some" and taking a pen and a ruler, he rapidly drew a few staves, on which I jotted down the tune and the bass. I put it away among my papers and thought no more of it.[1]

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[1] Hector Berlioz, *The Memoirs of Hector Berlioz, Member of The French Institute, including his Travels in Italy, Germany, Russia and England 1803-1865*, trans. and ed. David Cairns (London: Cardinal, 1980 and 1990; orig. Victor Gollancz, 1969), p. 187-8. Of the nine verses of Hugo's poem, Berlioz set only the first three and the last two in his *La Captive*, op. 12.

The small town of Subiaco is in the Abruzzi mountains around 35 miles outside Rome. Berlioz spent time in the Villa Medici in Rome during 1831-1832. In a letter to Thomas Gounet dated 17 February 1832 and written in Rome, Berlioz indicated: 'I wrote recently a little air on *La Captive* by

Berlioz's setting of *La Captive*, the ninth poem of Victor Hugo's collection *Les Orientales*, was performed twice in public in December 1832.[2] Ever since the moment Berlioz had presented the song to his friends in the summer of that year, it was received with great enthusiasm. Mlle Vernet, to whom the song was dedicated, even complained that the frequent renditions of the song by those around her had been getting on her nerves. Berlioz recounted:

> A fortnight later in Rome, during some music at the director's, I remembered 'La Captive'. I must show you a song I thought up in Subiaco' I said to Mlle Vernet; 'I am curious to know whether it is any good, I haven't the least idea'. I scribbled an accompaniment and we performed it there and then; and so well did it catch on that a month later the desperate Vernet admonished me, 'Look here, Berlioz, next time you go up to the mountains, for God's sake don't bring back any more songs. That 'Captive' of yours is making my life in the Villa a misery. It's everywhere - in the palace, the gardens, the wood, the terrace, in all the passages. One can't move a yard without hearing someone bawling or mumbling 'Le long du mur sombre ... le sabre des Spahis ... je ne suis pas Tartar ... l'eunuque noir,' and the rest of it ... It's driving

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Victor Hugo which will please you, I am sure. I return from the mountains where I spent the entire beginning of this month, vagabonding, my gun on my shoulder, in spite of the biting cold, the snow and the ice' ['J'ai fait dernièrement un petit air sur la Captive de Victor Hugo qui vous plaira, j'en suis sûr. J'arrive des montagnes où j'ai passé tout le commencement de ce mois, vagabondant, mon fusil sur l'épaule, malgré le froid piquant, la neige et la glace'], Berlioz, *Correspondance générale*, vol. 1: 1803-1832, ed. and dir. Pierre Citron (Paris: Flammarion, 1972), p. 528.

[2] The first concert performance appears to have been on 9 December 1832, see Berlioz, *The Memoirs of Hector Berlioz*, p. 217 (fn). In 1832 the song was billed as *La Captive, Orientale*, but it also became known as *La Captive, Rêverie*. A second concert performance 'in a version for voice, cello and piano', was given on 30 December 1832. It took place at the Conservatoire, with Mme F. Kunzé-Boulanger, A. Fessy (piano) and E. Desmarest (cello), Berlioz, *The Memoirs of Hector Berlioz*, p. 166 and p. 486. A programme of this concert is available in the Macnutt Collection, Tunbridge Wells.

The version for piano and voice (as performed in the Villa Medici) was not published until 1904 (Breitkopf & Härtel). The version for soprano, cello and piano was published initially by Schlesinger in 1833 in a version in E major for soprano, cello and piano. The Parisian publishers Richault produced the song in the version for mezzo/contralto and piano with a separate cello part, see British Library, Music (shelfmark: H. 1781.a (14)). Berlioz's various orchestrations of *La Captive* are detailed in a later footnote.

Reviews of concerts which featured the song can be found in *Revue musicale* (30 November 1834); *Gazette musicale de Paris* (7 December 1834); *Revue et gazette musicale de Paris* (5 May 1839 and 17 December 1840). For details of the sources see Berlioz, *New Edition of Complete Works: Songs for Solo Voice and Orchestra*, ed. Ian Kemp (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1967), vol. 13, p. IX-X.

> me mad. Tomorrow I'm getting rid of one of my servants, and I shall engage another on the strict understanding that he does not sing 'La Captive'.[3]

The infectious manner with which *La Captive* had infiltrated the imaginations of the amateur singers in Mlle Vernet's household illustrated the aesthetic milieu into which the song fell, as much as it complimented the composer's skill at creating such a memorable tune. Mlle Vernet's commentary highlighted the extent to which the public took *La Captive* to heart; the song's intense subjectivity acted as a magnet to people from all echelons of society. Such interest and accessibility was aided by the musical style of the song, its comfortable range, its technical simplicity, and its leisurely tempo. The musical characteristics of *La Captive* were typical of the *romance* genre. Bearing in mind the French public's evidently widespread identification with the song's message of solitude in captivity, it will be shown to be of particular interest in the light of the Duchesse de Berry's insurrection and eventual capture.[4]

While Berlioz's description of his conception of *La Captive* does not tie the song directly to the Duchesse de Berry, she was nevertheless in his mind at the time of writing. Berlioz describes his inspiration for the song in a letter to Thomas Gounet dated 17 February, in which he also recalled a cantata written for the duchess by Berlioz's friend Albert du Boys 'and the rather strange letter that was included with it'.[5] It was after all, less than a year since Marie-Caroline had left the confines of Holyrood where she had been in enforced exile from October 1830 until June 1831.[6] By the time of Berlioz's first references to *La Captive*

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[3] Berlioz, *The Memoirs of Hector Berlioz*, p. 187-8. Berlioz had accompanied Louise Vernet for the song's first performance (without the cello part) in February 1832 at the Villa Medici, Berlioz, *Correspondance générale*, vol. 1, p. 534-535.

[4] Annegret Fauser discusses the extent to which Berlioz's *romance* repertoire challenged his aspirations to become a 'great composer' whose music was inspired by the 'authority of personal experience', and she suggests that his *romances* were essentially 'commercial ventures, written in familiar forms and for specific markets' Fauser, 'The Songs', *The Cambridge Companion to Berlioz*, p. 108-9.

[5] 'et la lettre un peu drôle qui y était jointe', letter dated 17 February 1832 from Berlioz to Thomas Gounet, Berlioz, *Correspondance générale*, vol. 1, p. 528.

[6] Mme de Gontaut described Holyrood as a prison: 'I sent you sad details about our *prison*, because it was a prison. Here we are delivered from it. May God ensure that we are better off elsewhere; at least, we will not have the ocean between us and our affections any more' [Je vous mandais de tristes détails sur notre *prison*, car c'était une prison. Nous en voilà délivrés. Dieu veuille que nous soyons mieux ailleurs; au moins, nous n'aurons plus l'Océan entre nous et nos affections.'], Mme de Gontaut cites her letter to the Comte de Gontaut, written in Baden, in 1832, in Gontaut, *Mémoires*, p. 419.

(February 1832), news and suspicion about the duchess's plans at an attempted military coup against the Louis-Philippe d'Orléans were regularly reported in French journals. When, on 7 November 1832, the duchess was captured by Louis-Philippe's troops at Nantes, her transportation by boat across a stormy sea to her prison in the Château de Blaye on an island near Bordeaux, and her arrival (on 15 November) were all outlined with excessive detail in the French press. The duchess was to remain captive in Blaye until 8 June 1833.[7]

Berlioz's decision to set Hugo's *La Captive* fell, then, into the period between Marie-Caroline de Berry's imprisonments first in Holyrood and then in the Château de Blaye. By the time the song was first performed in public, on 30 December 1832, the duchess had been in Blaye for only two weeks, and she was to become known, as evidenced in lithographs of her imprisonment, as *La Captive de Blaye* (see Plates 18 and 19).[8]

The lithographs of *La Captive de Blaye* in Plate 19 shows the duchess dressed in a plain black dress, stripped of all the *richesse* of her former years. She sits next to a window in a darkened room; a barred window above her lets in only a glimmer of daylight. She faces front, calmly acknowledging the isolation of her situation, a pen poised above a map of France, and she holds a medallion that probably contains a portrait of her son, the Duc de Bordeaux. Her strong posture, with a slightly turned head, suggests inner resolve. Without the trappings of royalty, she can be judged as a woman rather than as a princess.

Any idea of authorial intention must remain tentative: Berlioz was unlikely to have been swayed towards the duchess's cause; after all, he harboured a profound admiration for Napoleon at the time of composition. The chronological and circumstantial parallels between Berlioz's setting of *La Captive* and Marie-Caroline's periods of exile and imprisonment permit a tentative association between them that is worthy of futher clarification. In this

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[7] Adelaïde de Boigne's description of the duchess's journey to Blaye is entertaining: 'We knew her to have arrived in Blaye [...] in reasonably good health, despite the tedious, stormy, even dangerous crossing, in which she demonstrated her customarily intrepid nature, one that received the admiration of all the military personnel' ['Nous la savions arrivée à Blaye [...] en assez bonne santé, malgré une traversée pénible, orageuse, dangereuse même, où elle montra son intrépidité accoutumée, intrépidité qui lui valait partout l'admiration des militaires'], Boigne, *Mémoires*, vol. 2, p. 430-1. For other descriptions of the duchess's attempted insurrection see Wright 'The Auld Alliance', p. 12; Blanc, *Histoire de dix ans*, vol. 4, p. 1-64; Chateaubriand, 'Mémoire sur la captivité de Madame la duchesse de Berry' (1833).

[8] See the commentary on *La Captive de Blaye* in Villa, *Collection de Vinck*, vol. 6, no. 12094 and 12095. Two further depictions of 'La Captive de Blaye' are in the same volume (no. 12152 and no. 12153). Other images range from the sentimental to the satirical (see nos. 12142-5, 12148, 12162, and 14121).

Plate 18: La Captive de Blaye.

Plate 19: La Captive de Blaye.

chapter, we will assess the extent to which musical and non-musical iconography of the Duchesse de Berry may have influenced the reception of Berlioz's song.

Iconographical precedents

As a musical study of captivity, Berlioz's song fits into a well-established tradition. The turn-of-the-century vogue of rescue opera, in which a hero or heroine attempts to save a kidnapped or imprisoned victim (Cherubini's *Lodoïska* (1791) and Beethoven's *Fidelio* (1805-1814)) had lost ground as the Empire established itself.[9] Resonances of this vogue were, however, felt at the Paris Opéra during the late 1820s in large-scale operas (such as Rossini's *Le Siège de Corinthe* (1826), and his *Moïse* (1827), as well as Auber's *La Muette de Portici* (1828)) in which charismatic heroes led revolutionary populations out of oppression. In these operas the dramatic emphasis was on the people, leadership, government, and the collective military or revolutionary power.[10] Around 1830, the reign of this proletarian heroic genre was diluted by a glut of historical tragedies in which the imprisoned subject was denied reprieve or rescue. This trend towards scenarios in which nobody was saved confounded the public's sentimental desire for the victim's escape. Hugo's short novel *Le Dernier jour d'un condamné* (1829) marked a decisive moment in this change of tide, and was to impact on operatic drama in the early 1830s. Its message of isolated degradation presented a hard-hitting, objective approach to the subject of imprisonment and condemnation. The story records the final thoughts of a condemned man (whose crime remains unexplained) and expresses his vulnerability with powerful simplicity. Works like *Le Dernier jour* ripened the public's interest in issues of personal sacrifice and the exploitation of scapegoats. Thus they aroused the public's curiosity

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[9] Beethoven's *Fidelio* (originally *Leonore*), a two-act opera, was premièred in its final version on 23 May 1814 at Vienna's Kärtnertortheater; the text for this version was by Georg Friedrich Treitschke. The plot takes Leonore (disguised as a youth named Fidelio) to work in a prison in an attempt to rescue her husband Florestan. Luigi Cherubini's *Lodoïska*, a three-act *comédie-héroïque*, was premièred at the Théâtre Feydeau on 18 July 1791; the text was by Claude-François Fillette-Loraux. The libretto allows Floreski to rescue Lodoïska from a burning tower.

[10] Jane Fulcher discusses the impact of these works on the reputation of the Paris Opéra as the nation's premier theatre in *The Nation's Image*.

about the physical and psychological condition of the individual in prison.[11] Berlioz's setting of Hugo's poem *La Captive* fell into this category.

Although Berlioz's intention when he conceived his setting of *La Captive* is only circumstantially equatable with Marie-Caroline de Berry's imprisonment, it opened the door to Bourbon sympathisers wanting to propagate the symbolism of the duchess's 'heroic' self-sacrifice against the reception of Berlioz's song. The connection was facilitated by the stream of lithographs of *La Captive de Blaye* that portrayed the duchess in her prison.[12]

As we have seen, during the early Restoration musical and visual reflections of the duchess's life had been plentiful. In the shock waves that had followed the assassination of the Duc de Berry, for example, Gaspare Spontini had offered a short strophic song called *Tout Deuil* ('All in mourning'), with words by the Comte Delagare. Spontini's song portrayed the duchess cutting her hair in mourning for her dead duke: 'Blonds cheveux que mon Charle [*sic*] aimait, ne me servez plus de parure' ('Blonde hair that my Charles loved, you are of no more ornamental use to me') (See Ex. 44).[13]

Spontini's music is simple, lilting, and intimate. Marked *Andantino doloroso*, it has a six-bar introduction, the last four bars of which recur in the concluding phrase. The song is strophic, in three verses, and belongs to the tradition of the lament; the simple sobbing affect of repeated dotted-quaver/quaver groupings, the gently lilting on the words 'que je vous baigne de mes larmes' ('how I bathe you in my tears') are too fragile to be sentimental. The intimate mood and text certainly suggest that a lute or guitar could have accompanied the melody. The lack of written elaboration in the second and third verses offers the singer the

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[11] The architectural design of prisons contrived to place the prisoners in the position of maximum visibility. Optimum surveillance was aimed at in Jeremy Bentham's 'Panoptican', reproduced in Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: the Birth of the Prison*, trans. Alan Sheridan (London: Allan Lane Books, 1977), plate 3 and p. 200. Foucault describes a building in which a central tower is pierced with numerous surveillance windows, and a peripheral annular building is pocked with cage-like cells. With windows to the back and front of the cells the prisoners' shadows were projected onto the floor outside, enabling a guard placed in the central tower to keep watch over all of the inmates simultaneously.

[12] In fact the lithographic plate used for Villa, *Collection de Vinck.*, vol. 6, no. 12145 was also used by a different Parisian publisher for no. 12144: 'The fact that the same plate was printed successively by two publishers proves its abundant distribution and, without doubt also, its commercial success' ['Le fait que la même pl. [plate] ait été tirée successivement par deux éditeurs prouve son abondante diffusion et, sans doute aussi, son succès commercial.'], Villa, *Collection de Vinck*, vol. 6, no. 12144.

[13] See Spontini, *Tout Deuil! Romance sur la mort de S. A. R. Mgr le duc de Berry, paroles de M. le Comte Delagare*, Bibliothèque Nationale, Musique (shelfmark: Vm 102898). This *romance* is also listed in Rosset, *Collection de Vinck*, vol. 5, no. 10603.

possibility to embellish the vocal line herself. The suggestion of a *style ancien* aligns it to the Restoration's movement of historical-mindedness, and in this it testifies to this song's, and therefore the Duchesse de Berry's iconographical status.

Ex. 44: Spontini - *Tout Deuil* (1820)

2

TOUT DEUIL

ROMANCE.

Andantino doloroso. 58 = 𝅗𝅥 = Métron.

CHANT

PIANO ou HARPE.

Blonds che.

-veux que mon Charle ai-mait ne me servez plus de pa-ru- - - re qu'ai-je be-

Avec abandon...

-soin de votre at-trait tout meurt pour moi dans la na-tu- - - re Blonds che-

3

Rallentissant.

sf

veux que mon Charle ai - mait ne me ser-vez plus de pa - ru . . . re.

sf. pp

sf pp

Colla parte.

sf. p

sf. p

sf. p

sf. p

2e

Blonds che - veux que mon Charle ai - mait que je vous baigne de mes lar - - -

Avec abandon.

- mes. hé-las! lors - - qu'il vous ché - ris - sait son a-mour vous prê - - tait des char - -

Rallent.

- mes Blonds che - veux que mon Charle ai - mait que je vous baigne de mes lar - - mes.

3e

Blonds che - veux que mon Charle ai - mait al - lez m'at - tendre dans sa tom - - -

Avec abandon.

- be j'ai per - - du ce qui me char - mait à ma dou - - leur si je suc - com - -

Rallent

- be Blonds che - veux que mon Charle ai - mait al - lez m'at - tendre dans sa tom - - be.

Blonds cheveux que mon Charle aimait	Blonde hair that my Charles loved
ne me servez plus de parure.	You are of no more ornamental use to me.
Qu'ai-je besoin de votre attrait	What need have I of your attractions
tout meurt pour moi dans la nature.	Everything natural is dying for me.
Blonds cheveux que mon Charle aimait	Blonde hair that my Charles loved
que je vous baigne de mes larmes.	That I should bathe you in my tears.
Hélas! Lorsqu'il vous chérissait	Alas! When he cherished you
son amour vous prêtait des charmes.	His love lent you charms.
Blonds cheveux que mon Charle aimait	Blonde hair that my Charles loved
allez m'attendre dans sa tombe.	Go and wait for me in his tomb.
J'ai perdu ce qui me charmait	I have lost that which charmed me
à ma douleur si je succombe.	To my pain if I succumb.

Throughout the song, discreet chromatic touches enliven the music. These include the augmented fourth (plagal) g melodic minor scale at the start, the 'modal' shift at 'qu'ai-je besoin de votre attrait' and the ensuing neapolitan chord, leading to a diminished 7th at 'tout meurt pour moi' (marked *Avec abandon*). This is the emotional heart of each verse, where the duchess remembers beauty (verse 1), cherished love (verse 2), and her lost husband (verse 3), all of which are highlighted by the major mode. As though caught in a dream of her own grief, she is shocked back to a realisation of the truth by a 7th chord that resolves chromatically back (in the voice), to her former sorrow in g minor. This 7th returns as a sighing affect in the final phrase, repeating the text of the opening as though the captive is struggling against emotional pain as her thoughts reoccur.

Spontini's song was paralleled in a series of lithographs of the hair cutting. One of these, *La Duchesse de Berry coupant ses cheveux*, portrayed the duchess in front of a mirror, with scissors and lengths of hair thrown on the floor (see Plate 20).[14] Her dead husband's statue, which is covered in a light veil, casts a watchful shape, reminding her that she must

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[14] Rosset, *Collection de Vinck*, vol. 5, no. 10602. The design was probably by Lacroix de Nismes, the lithograph by Langlumé. See also 'S. A. R. M de la Duchesse de Berry coupant ses cheveux et les

Plate 20: La Duchesse de Berry coupant ses cheveux.

now set aside both her vanity and her femininity. In this way the duchess was shown to be a sacrificial victim, whose hair, as though it were blood, has been shed for the Bourbon cause.

Through such symbolism, the Duchesse de Berry became a captive of her royal status; she must obey court etiquette, denounce her own ambitions, and survey the development of her son. Like Samson, as her hair is removed, she must acknowledge that she is without power, divested of influence. Spontini's romance *Tout Deuil* and the lithograph *La Duchesse de Berry coupant ses cheveux* worked together like twin snapshots; these were two genres independently contributing to the iconisation of the same historic moment. Placed together, the musical and visual elements present something like an operatic scene, they provide a theatrical backdrop to the duchess's mourning. Their enduring formats helped to sustain the impact of the Duc de Berry's assassination on the French populace.

Contrasting against the image of the female as a pro-active warrior (as we saw in connection with Jeanne d'Arc), the lithograph of *La Captive de Blaye* at her desk portrayed a vulnerable, resigned and pensive captive, poised next to a barred prison window, dressed in black, and putting her thoughts to paper. The mood of the lithograph blends composure with reminiscence.

It is likely that both of these lithographs and Berlioz's song of the same name were equated in the minds of the 1832 public. Thus, whatever Berlioz's political preferences, the lithographs (and others like them), provided Berlioz's song and the duchess's imprisonment with its own scenography. The fascination in this song from a twenty-first century perspective lies in its importance as a talisman of the *Zeitgeist*. By positioning the song alongside reports and lithographs of *La Captive de Blaye*, and by examining the conjunction of these media in the context of other threads of cultural evolution, we have a richer insight into the aesthetic of the period.

The idea that Marie-Caroline's life was mirrored in song is reinforced by parallels with a historically-minded song called *Adieu, plaisant pays de France*, which brings Marie Stuart once again into the equation. Not only had Marie-Caroline developed a strong identification between the duchess and Marie Stuart during the Restoration, but, as we know, this was reinforced by her association with Holyrood Castle from 1830 to 1831. Confiming the extent to which Marie-Caroline's obsession with the Scottish queen was broadcast, a print of the

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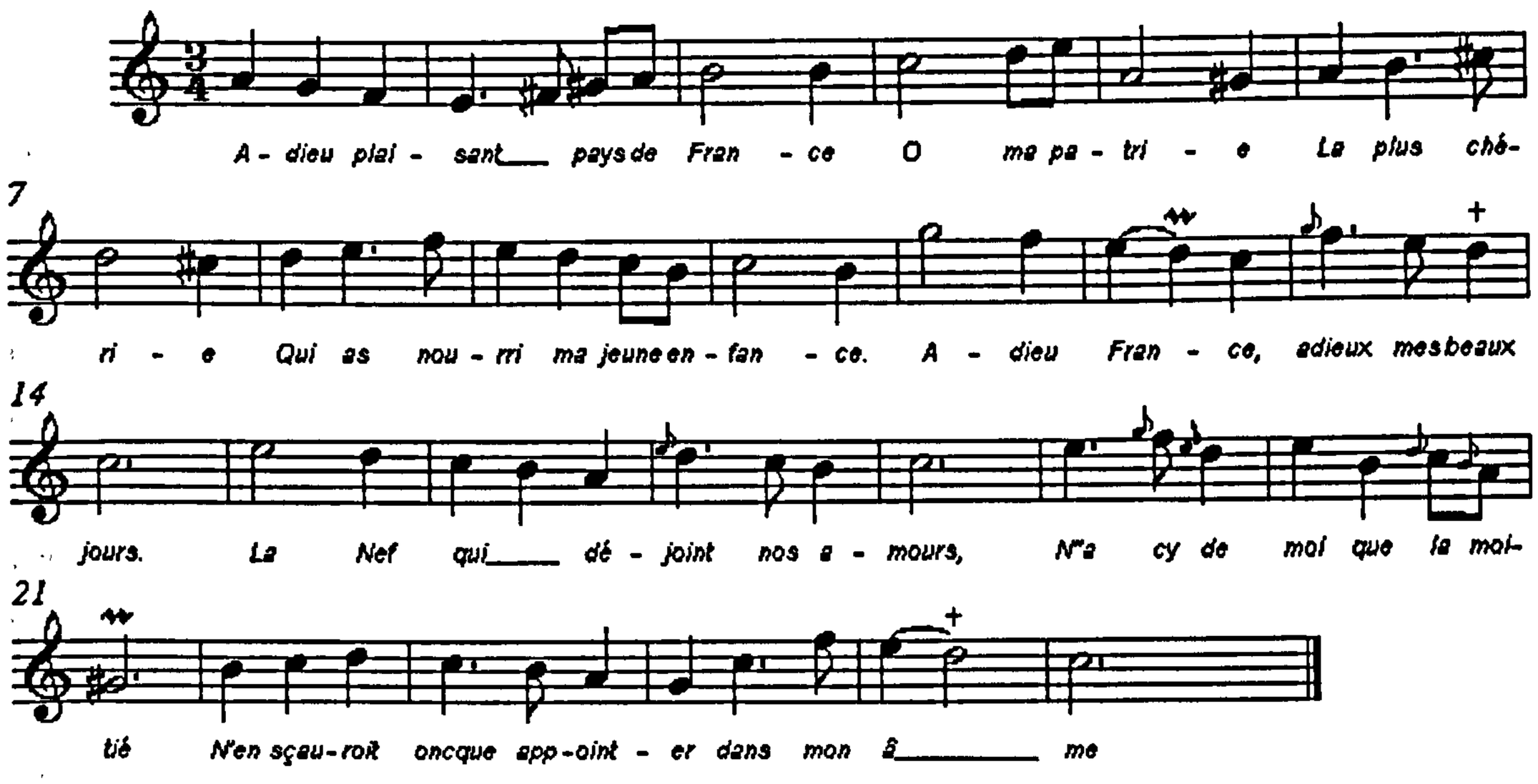
remettant à Mde de Gontaut gouvernante de Mademoiselle' which was submitted on 13 May 1820, Rosset, *Collection de Vinck*, vol. 5, no. 10601.

Plate 21: Caroline en Ecosse.
La duchesse de Berry, en costume de Marie Stuart.

duchess dressed as Mary Stuart, which dates from the period of her exile in Holyrood, consolidates these ideas (see Plate 21, *Caroline en Ecosse*).[15]

Adieu, mon plaisant pays de France, by Anne Meusnier de Querlon, dating from the late 1750s, was a revision of a chanson entitled *Chanson de Marie Stuart*, which was purportedly written and then sung by Mary Stuart when, sailing away from France, she had looked back towards the retreating shore.[16] See Ex. 45 for Meusnier de Querlon's melody and text:

Ex. 45: *Adieu, plaisant pays de France* (circa 1757), words by Anne Meusnier de Querlon



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[15] *Caroline en Ecosse*, lithograph by Fonrouge, submitted on 29 February 1832, see Rosset, *Collection de Vinck*, vol. 5, no. 10213.

[16] Marie Stuart's secretary David Rizzio may well have contributed to the text of the *Chanson de Marie Stuart*, see Duneton, *Histoire de la chanson*, vol. 1, p. 288-9. Meusnier de Querlon's text was cited in Jean Monnet, *Anthologie de la chanson française* ([Paris: n. pub., 1757). It is discusssed in Duneton, *Histoire de la chanson* vol. 1, p. 287-229. The melody is cited on p. 1012-13, as 'Air noté', no. 7.

Adieu, plaisant pays de France,	**Goodbye, pleasant country of France,**
O ma patrie	**O my homeland**
La plus chérie,	**The most beloved,**
Qui as nourri ma jeune enfance.	**Which nourished my childhood years.**
Adieu France, adieu mes beaux jours.	**Goodbye France, goodbye my beautiful days.**
La Nef qui déjoint nos amours,	**The vessel that separates us from our loved ones,**
N'a cy de moi que la moitié:	**Has only half of me:**
N'en sçauroit oncque appointer dans mon âme.	**It will never be able to resurrect anything in my soul**

The plaintive melody of Meusnier de Querlon's version relies on dipping melodic contours and tonal uncertainty (opening in A min, deviating to D min, and ending in C). Its opening falling and rising melodic minor scale immediately sets out the melody's tone of abandonment. Several features tie the 1750s song to the late sixteenth-century *air de cour* tradition; its simple sequential construction, its dotted rhythms (which inflect a Sarabande-like movement, with hemiola emphases on the second beat of bars 6-9, and 22-25), its emphasis on feminine endings, and its detailed ornamentation. Mournfulness is instilled by the falling 6th in bars 4-5 (emphasised by the appoggiatura a-g#). Imbalanced phrase-lengths contribute to the melody's listless meandering (3, 4, 3, 4, 4, 3, 5). A comparison between this text and that of *La Captive* is striking, as we shall see.

Curiously, according to Mme de Gontaut, the Duc de Berry used to sing 'Mary Stuart's song' while in exile during the Empire, as he wandered around the corridors at Marie Stuart's former home of Holyrood: 'where the unfortunate princess made her farewells to the pleasant country of France'.[17] Gontaut's account does not make clear which version of the 'Mary Stuart song' she was referring to (the sixteenth-century version or that revised by de Querlon), but considering that Robert Schumann was to use the Meusnier de Querlon version for his *Gedichte der Königin Marie Stuart* (1852), and that Louis Abraham Niedermeyer was to include a version of the same song in his opera *Marie Stuart* (1844), we can reasonably speculate that this pastiche was the version known to the Duc de Berry.[18] The identification

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[17] 'où l'infortunée princesse faisoit ses adieux au plaisant pays de France', Wright, 'The Auld Alliance', p. 10, fn. 32, citing Mme de Gontaut, *Mémoires*, p. 63.

[18] See Barbier and Vernillat, *Histoire de France par les chansons*, p. 81-82. Niedermeyer's five-act opera, with a libretto by Théodore Anne, was premièred in Paris on 6 December 1844.

before 1814 of the exiled Duc de Berry with Marie Stuart's plight created a strange premonition of Marie-Caroline's adoption of the Scottish queen as her own alter ego at the *Quadrille Marie Stuart* in 1829, and of the reinforcement of this connection by her own expulsion to Holyrood after 1830. Beyond the similarities of their marriages and widowhoods, Mary Stuart had been captured and imprisoned during the sixteenth-century under similarly romantic circumstances to those of the Duchesse de Berry in 1832-1833.[19] Mary Stuart was rowed across a lake to her prison at Lochleven Castle, just as Marie-Caroline had been taken by sea to Blaye.

In the light of this series of connections, it was only fitting for the public to identify Marie-Caroline de Berry with Marie Stuart during her imprisonment in 1832, and therefore to find Berlioz's *La Captive* an equivalent of the Scottish queen's lament.[20] Like *Adieu, mon plaisant pays de France*, Berlioz's *La Captive* connected to the early-Romantic current of historical representation that explored the imprisonment and execution of historical monarchs, in particular of sixteenth-century figures (Donizetti's *Anna Bolena*). The song pointed to society's enduring preoccupation with the subjectivity of loneliness and alienation, as part of the historical movement within mainstream Romanticism, but also as a reflection of recent historical experience. Indeed, Berlioz's song touched on the painful memories of the many surviving French *émigrés* of the Revolutionary period and the Empire. After all, only seventeen or so years had passed since the return of France's political outcasts. Mme de Staël for one had been vociferous about her experiences abroad, and about her sense of displacement, and she made it clear that 'the vast majority of these exiles were women'.[21] For these women, returned now to France, *La Captive*'s depiction of distant lands and her longing for home offered a focal point for nostalgic empathy. In this sense, the song iconised the image of a woman in a crisis of loneliness in a way that was to become a favourite subject for

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[19] Like Marie-Caroline it had been hoped that the young bride Marie Stuart would give birth to the future kings of France, but when she was widowed suddenly at the age of eighteen on 5 December 1560 her responsibilities towards Scotland assumed greater importance. She left France for Scotland on 14 August 1561. Rivalry between herself and her cousin Elizabeth I later led to her imprisonment.

[20] A song alluded to in a description given by Mme de Gontaut of an evening concert in Germany reflects the same sentiment: 'they sang before M. le duc de Bordeaux the well known air: 'O my country, be my love, forever!' ['on chanta devant M. le duc de Bordeaux cet air connu: 'O mon pays, sois mes amours, toujours!'], Gontaut, *Mémoires*, p. 383.

[21] John Claiborne Isbell, *The Birth of European Romanticism: Truth and Propaganda in Staël's 'De L'Allemagne', 1810-1813* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), p. 104.

later nineteenth-century artists, who depicted women sitting by windows, and gazing into uninterrupted space.[22]

In the same way as the fall of the *ancien régime* had sent Bourbon sympathisers into exile, so rejected Bourbon sympathisers left Paris after the July Revolution. Many aristocrats chose to live in the French provinces, waiting for their 'king' Henry V to come to power. Like Jeanne d'Arc who was 'banished from the empire that she had just saved', these exiled aristocrats were the equivalent of sacrificial victims in the name of the king.[23] They felt trapped in the world of the July Monarchy just as, conversely, many Republicans, Bonapartists and Liberals had felt trapped by the Restoration; we are reminded that Dantès, Dumas's political prisoner in *Le Comte de Monte Cristo*, was freed only after 1830. By highlighting the experience of exile and captivity, the imprisonment of the Duchesse de Berry so soon after the July Revolution struck a chord, given the reversed fortunes of the general public. Marie-Caroline's imprisonment provided an excuse for the rejected Bourbonists to re-examine the scars of their various exiles, and she offered a vicarious witness to their own emotional trauma. Such an identification also made it possible (in a Romantic sense) for the pro-Bourbon factions to regard their own losses from a heroic perspective. Therefore, even though the duchess's captivity had an essentially anti-Bourbon element, its resonance touched on broader concerns that had emerged after the recent change of regime for both royalists and anti-royalists alike.

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[22] See the illustration for a romance called *Le Chagrin de l'absence* ['The pain of absence'], by James Pradier, available in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Opéra (shelfmark: 80 B 87946). The lithograph by Langlumé shows a forsaken woman leaning wearily on her elbow, next to a table and in front of a window. Her costume is typical of 1830s fashions. The woman's pose is remarkably similar to that of Isouard's Cendrillon in the frontispiece of one printed libretto, see Bibliothèque Nationale, Opéra (shelfmark: Liv. 19 [O. C. 83]).

[23] 'bannie de l'empire qu'elle vient de sauver' Claiborne Isbell, quotes Staël, *De l'Allemagne*, (1810-1813, vol. 2, p. 367) in *The Birth of European Romanticism*, p. 104

Voyeurism and Blaye

Immediately after the news about the duchess's imprisonment at Blaye had broken, the voyeuristic reportage began to echo far, wide and enduringly. Alongside the commercial outpouring of visual images, France's journalists communicated their intimate research into Marie-Caroline's captivity. Journalists became intent on reporting the minutiae, providing historical and topographical descriptions of the duchess's prison, as well as engrossing reports on her failing health. A lengthy newspaper article 'Un voyage à Blaye' in the pro-Bourbon journal *La Quotidienne*, presented the duchess's prison as a place of pilgrimage. Although this article related the duchess's plight to past monarchic events, the historical context served as much to romanticise as to elucidate the particulars of the duchess's imprisonment. The *Quotidienne* journalist only thinly disguised his own voyeuristic motivations:

> A traveller, recently arrived at Blaye, published some details about the town and about the citadel towards which France has its eyes fixed. As easy as it is to recognise that this article is that of a disinterested witness, we think that the name MADAME lends it enough interest for us to share it with our readers.[24]

Describing the citadel at Blaye, the article offers more than a hint of the Romantic novel. It merges hard reality with the gothic cultural aesthetic. Set among ruins, the prison's ancient crumbling pillars cling to the peak of a hilltop that can be seen from all around:

> It is situated on a considerable enough elevation for it to dominate the entire town, but at the most it attains the level of a series of hills that stretch into the distance towards the north [...]. At the summit of the citadel are the ruins of an old castle of ancient architecture [...] they say that it was built by Roland, and that the body of this knight was taken there after the fall of Roncevaux'.[25]

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[24] 'Un voyageur récemment arrivé de Blaye, a publié quelques détails sur cette ville et sur la citadelle vers laquelle la France a les yeux fixés. Bien qu'il soit aisé de s'apercevoir que ce récit est celui d'un indifférent, nous pensons que le nom de MADAME lui donne assez d'intérêt pour que nous puissions le communiquer à nos lecteurs' *Quotidienne* (21 March 1833).

[25] 'Occupons-nous maintenant de la citadelle [...].
Elle est située sur une élévation assez considérable qui domine toute la ville, mais qui atteint tout au plus le niveau d'une suite de collines qui s'étendent au loin dans la direction du Nord [...]. On trouve au sommet de la citadelle, les ruines d'un vieux château qui offre les caractères d'une architecture fort ancienne [...] on dit qu'il fut bâti par Roland, et que le corps de ce paladin y fut apporté après la défaite de Roncevaux.' *Quotidienne* (21 March 1833). Roncevaux (a town in the

The royal history of the citadel adds majesty and kudos to the scene. Just as in the distant past Roland had contemplated the panoramic view, so in 1832 the Duchesse de Berry could survey the land she had attempted to conquer.

The *Quotidienne* report continues with observations on the brevity of historical memory in the face of long-forgotten heroes. It supports these with descriptions of the chevalric *fleurs de lys* (already closely associated with the duchess), and with references to gothic pillars and vaults:

> One observes large pillars amongst these ruins, and the remainders of vaults that lead up to the centre [...] the *fleurs de lys* and the crown effect the apex of three iron lancets [...] this *fleur de lys* shape goes back to an epoch significantly far back in our history. These ruins have for some time furnished the material for the construction of modern buildings.[26]

The *Quotidienne* article confirmed the theatricality of the duchess's situation, but it also acknowledged a sense of historical decay that reverberated against the failure of the duchess's campaign. The article framed Marie-Caroline in her prison like an exhibit in a museum, in a ruined old building that once represented the monarchy.[27] The memory-tags of historical information confirmed that she was now perceived as part of the nation's history, rather than its present; indeed, she was in danger of becoming fossilised among the ruins. Read metaphorically, the reuse of the old stones for the construction of modern buildings symbolised the rebuilding of society after the final collapse of the Bourbon dynasty - the reconstitution of the past into the present. There was also, in the theatrical symbolism (the 'large pillars', which remind us of theatrical *mise en scène*), a suggestion of the rebirth of history in theatrical representation. The journalist's aerial description of the surroundings communicated something of the atmosphere of a theatrical event:

> The rampart situated on the west, and looking towards the bottom of the river is an area that one must not decline to visit. It is the most elevated point of the castle, and

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Navarre region) represented Charlemagne's rearguard defence. The king's troops had been surprised there by the Vascons in 788, and Roland, their leader, had been killed.

[26] 'on observe dans ces ruines de gros piliers et des restes de voûtes qui se rapprochent du plein ceintre [...] fleurs de lis et la couronne présentent la réunion de trois fers de lance [...] cette forme des fleur de lis se rapporte à une époque assez reculée de notre histoire. Ces ruines fournissent depuis longtemps des matériaux pour les constructions modernes', *Quotidienne* (21 March 1833).

[27] See Plate 15, *Les ruines de la chapelle d'Holyrood.*

> from there one discovers a vast horizon well capable of attracting the eyes, and of captivating the complete attention of walkers.[28]

This journalistic article was then, a poignant instance of the transference of real events to the domain of the stage and the literary text, and it was also one that echoed closely the lithographs of 'La Captive', as well as Berlioz's song. The theatricality and granite splendour of the duchess's captivity were an apt sequel to the dramatic elements of her insurrection. Her position on a point of architectural elevation opened the way for associations with Rapunzel in her tower, and with Richard III's 'Princes in the Tower, both of which would have been known to the French public of the time.[29] Like Berlioz's *La Captive*, the duchess had been transported to a place of fantastic romance, far away from reality.

Bourbon sympathisers proposing resonances between the duchess's imprisonment and the imprisnoments of Louis XVI and Marie-Antoinette had a strong case. The press's voyeuristic attentions to the real-life 'La Captive' of 1833 were comparable to the marketing of Louis as a public spectacle in 1793. During Louis's trial, the prosecution had portrayed the king as an evil monstrosity[30] Visitors to his cell were, however, horrified by the sight of an enfeebled man who was 'the very image of pity'.[31] His inner torment was manifest in his appearance: 'His three-day-old beard [...] neither short nor long, was unkempt and dirty [...] making his bristly face seem boorish'.[32] In spite of (or perhaps in sympathy with) his dilapidated physical appearance, commentators such as Chateaubriand also credited Louis during his final days with a quasi-religious resignation. Chateaubriand reported the king's last words to have been: 'I hope that my blood will cement the happiness of the French'; thus Louis promised France a redemption that had been wrought through his own selflessness, and which resonated against Christ's final words on the cross.[33]

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[28] 'un endroit qu'on ne peut se laisser de visiter; c'est le rempart situé à l'ouest, et regardant vers le bas du fleuve. C'est le point le plus élevé du château, et de là on découvre un vaste horizon bien capable d'attirer les regards et de captiver toute l'attention des promeneurs.' *Quotidienne* (21 March 1833).

[29] See Delaroche's 'Edouard V et Richard duc d'York', known as 'les Enfants d'Edouard' (1831). Grimm's *Contes* would have been known to the French public at this time.

[30] Various examples of such terminology are quoted in Dunn, *The Deaths of Louis XVI*, p. 17.

[31] Jules Michelet, *Histoire de la Révolution française* (orig. 1847-53; repr. Paris: Gallimard, 1952), vol. 2, p. 115, quoted in Dunn, *The Deaths of Louis XVI*, p. 68.

[32] Michelet, *Histoire de la Révolution française*, vol. 2, p. 115, quoted in Dunn, *The Deaths of Louis XVI*, p. 68.

[33] Chateaubriand, *Essai sur les révolutions*, p. 333. Susan Dunn points to the implicitly religious nature of this sacrifice. 'Although Michelet and Lamartine criticised the Jacobins for stooping to

Although the re-instatement of Louis's immediate family in 1814 and again in 1815 proposed a resurrection of Bourbon hopes, for Louis XVIII and Charles X, as we have already seen, redemption was difficult to realise. The Restoration kings were exposed to multivalent interpretations as saviour and devil, victim and delinquent by the public across the spectrum of political comment. If Bourbon supporters identified the Duchesse de Berry in Berlioz's *La Captive*, this identification signalled a call for another unifying Jeanne d'Arc figure to guide the fortunes of Bourbon history. The Bourbon cause was, however, already beyond hope. Victor Hugo acknowledged the extent to which aristocratic privilege and the monarchic institution were being redefined in 1831:

> The political moment is grave [...] the old word 'peer' is already almost as far from brilliant as the word 'royalty', which is being transformed and is changing sense.[34]

Associations between ideas of royalty and pilgrimage were becoming increasingly interchangeable with entertainment; the duchess's prison was to be seen and enjoyed. The *Quotidienne*'s journalist's voyeuristic attitude towards the woman who had so recently been France's princess encouraged the readers to become 'involved' with the duchess's plight, as though they were taking part.

How much was the *Quotidienne*'s journalistic reportage influenced by the close blending of reality and fiction that characterised Marie-Caroline's attempted insurrection and imprisonment? To what extent did the journal treat the duchess's imprisonment as a serious political matter, or as a romantic curiosity? Certainly, her insurrection and subsequent imprisonment could be blamed to some extent on her absorption of the fantastical literary world. After all, the duchess had proved her fascination with the heroes of Walter Scott's novels and with the antics of historical and fantasy balls. She had demonstrated her talents as one of the Bourbons' greatest political actresses, even though she had rarely before made any form of public political address.

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pagan primitivism in committing an act of sacrifice that they denigrated as ritualistic, superstitious, and barbaric, they themselves praised Louis XVI for performing a courageous, heroic act of self-sacrifice and expiation. Valorized by his suffering and sacrifice, no longer the monster he had been for the Jacobins, Louis became a scapegoat, a Christ-figure, "innocence itself."' Dunn, *The Deaths of Louis XVI*, p. 35.

[34] Victor Hugo, 'Préface' to *Les Feuilles d'automne*, in Pierre Albouy, ed., *Les Orientales, Les Feuilles d'automne* (Paris: Gallimard, 1964), p. 344, p. 187. The French did in fact abolish the hereditary peerage with the law of 29 December 1831.

While the duchess, or indeed the singer of Berlioz's *La Captive*, dreamed of the outside world, those on the outside were dreaming the contrary. The Château de Blaye offered a spectacle that worked two ways: it was a transverse mirror through which the duchess and the public could contemplate each other. It offered a beautiful amusement park that could 'attract the eyes' and 'capture all the attention of the walkers' whose love of *la flânerie* (strolling) and *spectacle* (theatre) were combined and ultimately satisfied. So, Blaye was not now merely a historical château, a prison, or a strolling park for mild historical appreciation; it had become an interactive museum.

The existence of associations between *amusement* and *museum* underlines the narcissistic voyeurism that surrounded the duchess's imprisonment, and the parallels with Berlioz's *La Captive* are clear. A desire for intense subjectivity had infiltrated the French aesthetic; while there was a natural instinct towards social contact, individuals also recognised the Romantic attraction of isolation. Mlle Vernet's complaint that 'La Captive' was taking over her world ('It's everywhere - in the palace, the gardens, the wood, the terrace, in all the passages') was symptomatic of this mood of collective subjectivity. As a tool of Romanticism, music was becoming a means of recognising and tapping into an interior world, and *La Captive* provided an ideal expressive outlet for such introspection, but it also provided a medium through which individuals could view the predicaments of others.

Berlioz's prisoner

The collection *Orientales* to which Hugo's poem *La Captive* belongs was finished in July 1828, the year before his short novel *Le Dernier jour d'un condamné* appeared.[35] As in *Le Dernier jour*, Hugo gave little background information about the captive's imprisonment, except that it is clear that she is retained against her will in a harem of sorts. Hugo's poem, in nine verses, is a reflective monologue in which the detained woman reluctantly admires her luxurious surroundings and bemoans her lack of freedom. She describes the opulently furnished and highly coloured rooms, decorated sumptuously in the Eastern style ('I like these vermilion towers/ These triumphant flags/ These golden houses/ Like children's toys ...)'. Such a scene is reminiscent of Delacroix's paintings of Near-Eastern women in lounges; the languor of their opulent existence has drugged their physical movements as well as their minds.[36]

Significantly, Hugo's poem represented a female rather than a male captive. There is no suggestion of how long the woman has been held, nor how long she will remain captive. No blame has been cast, but it seems she is unlikely to be freed. The poem touched on issues about female emancipation that were of increasing interest to the French public of the early nineteenth century, and pre-empted the later nineteenth-century preoccupation with the subject of domestic solitude.

Berlioz, however, chose only verses 1, 2, 3 and 9 of Hugo's poem for his 1832 setting. When he orchestrated it in 1848, he included verse 8 (which he set twice), and he added

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[35] Hugo had been an unquestioning Bourbon supporter during the early Restoration. His *Ode sur la naissance de Monseigneur le duc de Bordeaux* ('In ancient times he gave us his son' dated 1820), proposed the new-born duke as a metaphor for the son of God. In the late 1820s, however, his collection *Orientales* reflected the broader aesthetic influences of contemporaneous orientalism that emerged alongside the Greek struggle against the Turks during the 1820s. The collection also coincided, as we saw in Chapter Two, with the political *faux pas* that was the Duchesse de Berry's *bal turc*. The image of the noble savage as a representation of Everyman was integral to the aesthetic of the poems in Hugo's collection.

[36] See Delacroix, *Odalisque reclining on a Divan* (c. 1827/8) (Cambridge: Fitzwilliam Museum) reproduced in Lee Johnson, *The Paintings of Eugène Delacroix. A Critical Catalogue 1816-1831*, vol. 1 text; vol. 2 plates (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981), catalogue no. 10, plate 7. The voluptuous *Odalisque*, a reclining nude, rests uneasy next to a blow pipe and the scabbard of a yatagan (sabre). For the frontispiece of Stephen Heller's piano reduction of Berlioz's 'La Captive', the publishers Richault chose an illustration that bore remarkable similarity to Delacroix's *Odalisque* (see British Library, Music (shelfmark: H. 1781.a (13)).

repeated material from verse 1 as a recapitulation. The verses that Berlioz did not set are outlined in Appendix 7. If Berlioz customised the poem in 1832 in order to reflect the sombre reality of imprisonment, then he chose his verses wisely. Crucially, the verses he left out were those that were steeped in oriental colour. Thus, Berlioz's truncated version offered a starker, more barren image of captivity than Hugo's original, and one that reflected the post-Revolutionary *Zeitgeist* of France in 1832. While, therefore, Hugo's text had created a sensuous oriental mirage, Berlioz stripped the poem of much of its exotic resonance. He retained a minimum of information about the captive's situation, and depicted her psychological condition with subtle musical expression, providing an emotionally richer portrayal. Berlioz's captive (unlike Hugo's) concentrates more on her own utopian memories than on the material concerns of the present (see Ex. 46).

Si je n'étais captive,	If I were not captive,
J'aimerais ce pays,	I would like this country,
Et cette mer plaintive,	And this plaintive sea,
Et ces champs de maïs,	And these maize fields,
Et ces astres sans nombre,	And these innumerable stars,
Si le long du mur sombre	If the sabre of the Turkish soldier
N'étincelait dans l'ombre	Did not sparkle in the shadows
Le sabre du Spahis.[37]	along the length of the sombre walls.
Je ne suis point tartare	I am not a Tartar
Pour qu'un eunuque noir	For whom a black eunuch
M'accorde ma guitare,	Tunes up my guitar,
Me tienne mon miroir.	Holds up my mirror.
Bien loin de ces sodomes[38]	Far away from these sodoms
Au pays dont nous sommes,	In the country of our origins,
Avec les jeunes hommes	One can talk in the evening
On peut parler le soir.	with the young men.

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[37] Spahis was the name of a troop of Turkish mounted solders (the Turkish *sipahi* meaning cavalier). Up to the mid-1820s the 'Spahis' was one of Turkey's six principal military corps, but it was disbanded in 1826 after a reorganisation. See 'Spahis', *La Grande encyclopédie*. The name would have held particular significance at the time of the publication of *Les Orientales* because of the Greek-Turk war. Byron's death at Missolonghi cast a darkness over cultural representations of the war.

[38] Hugo had annotated his manuscript with the note: 'See the memoirs of Ibrahim-Manzour Effendi, on the double-harem of Ali-Pacha. This [harem?] is a Turkish custom' ['Voyez les mémoires d'Ibrahim-Manzour Effendi, sur le double sérail d'Ali-Pacha. C'est une mode turque.'], Victor Hugo in Albouy, ed., *Les Orientales, Les Feuilles d'automne*, p. 344.

Pourtant j'aime une rive
Où jamais des hivers
Le souffle froid n'arrive.
Par les vitraux ouvert
L'été la pluie est chaude
L'insecte vert qui rôde
Luit, vivante émeraude
Sous les brins d'herbe verts.

However, I like a river bank
Where the cold breath
of the winters never arrives.
Through the open windows
The summer rain is warm
The green insect that roams about
Glows a lively emerald
Beneath the bursts of green grass.

J'aime en un lit de moussses
Dire un air espagnol,[39]
Quand mes compagnes douces,
Du pied rasant le sol,
Légion vagabonde
Où le sourire abonde,
Font tournoyer leur ronde
Sous un rond parasol.

I like to sing a Spanish air
In a bed of moss,
When my gentle companions,
Graze the ground with their feet,
The vagabond legion
Where the smile abounds,
Turn their circuits
Beneath the round parasol.

Mais sur tout quand la brise
Me touche en voltigeant,
La nuit j'aime être assise,
Etre assise en songeant,
L'oeil sur la mer profonde,
Tandis que pâle et blonde.
La lune ouvre dans l'onde
Son éventail d'argent.

But above all, when the breeze
Touches me, fluttering,
At night I like to sit,
To sit thinking,
My eye on the deep sea,
While pale and blond.
The moon opens its silver fan
on the waves.

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[39] Hugo classed Spain as an 'oriental' country, as had Byron in *Le Giaour*. The moorish influence was still perceived to be strong there.

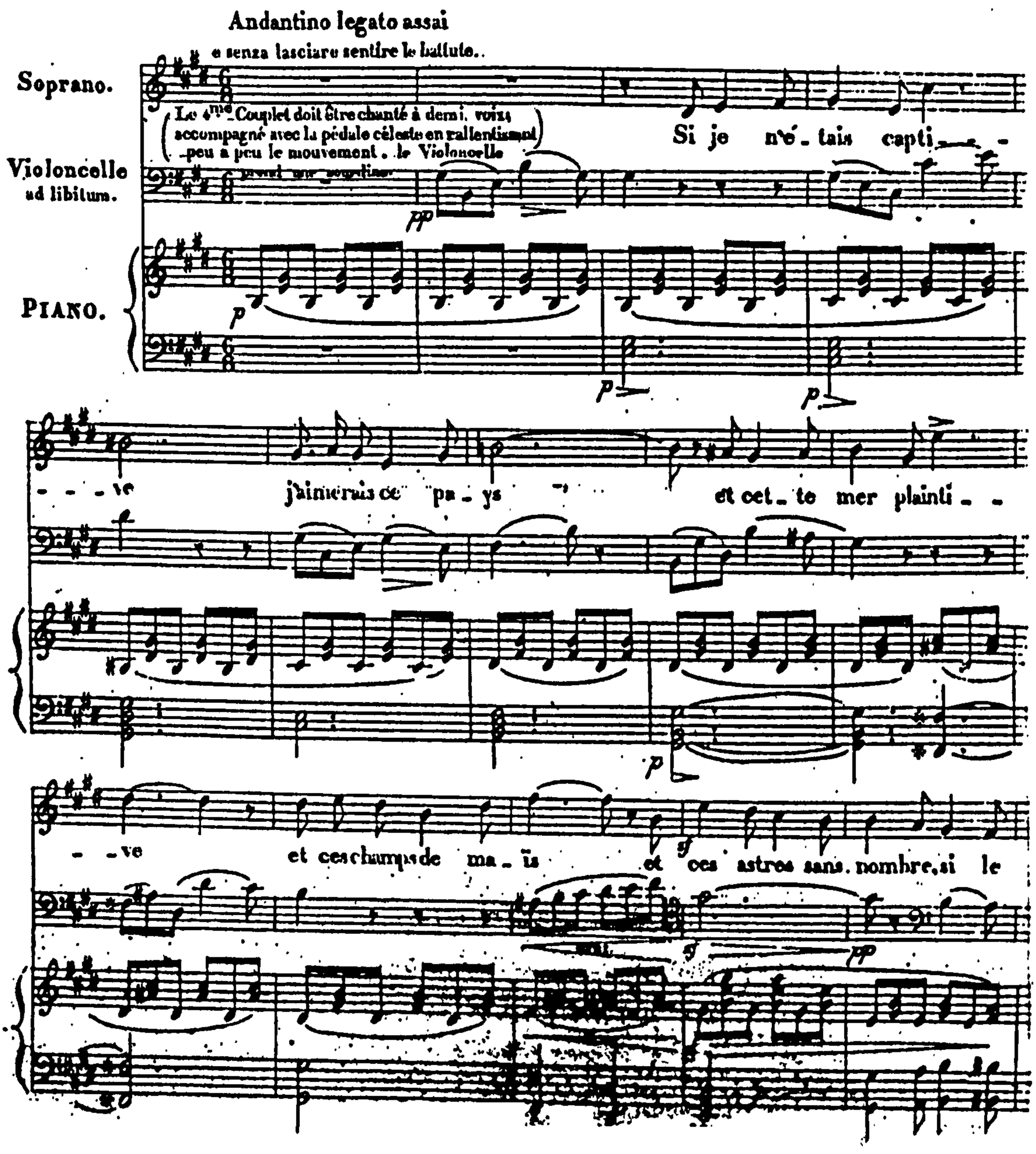
Ex. 46: Berlioz - *La Captive*

2

LA CAPTIVE

Orientale de VICTOR HUGO.

Musique de HECTOR BERLIOZ.



long du mur som_ _bre n'é_tin_celait dans l'om_ _bre le sa_bre des Spa_

pizzic.

ppp

sf

_ _his.

les premieres fois.

arco.

cres. sf dimin. pp

cres. sf dimin. sf

_ _gent.

la derniere fois.

arco.

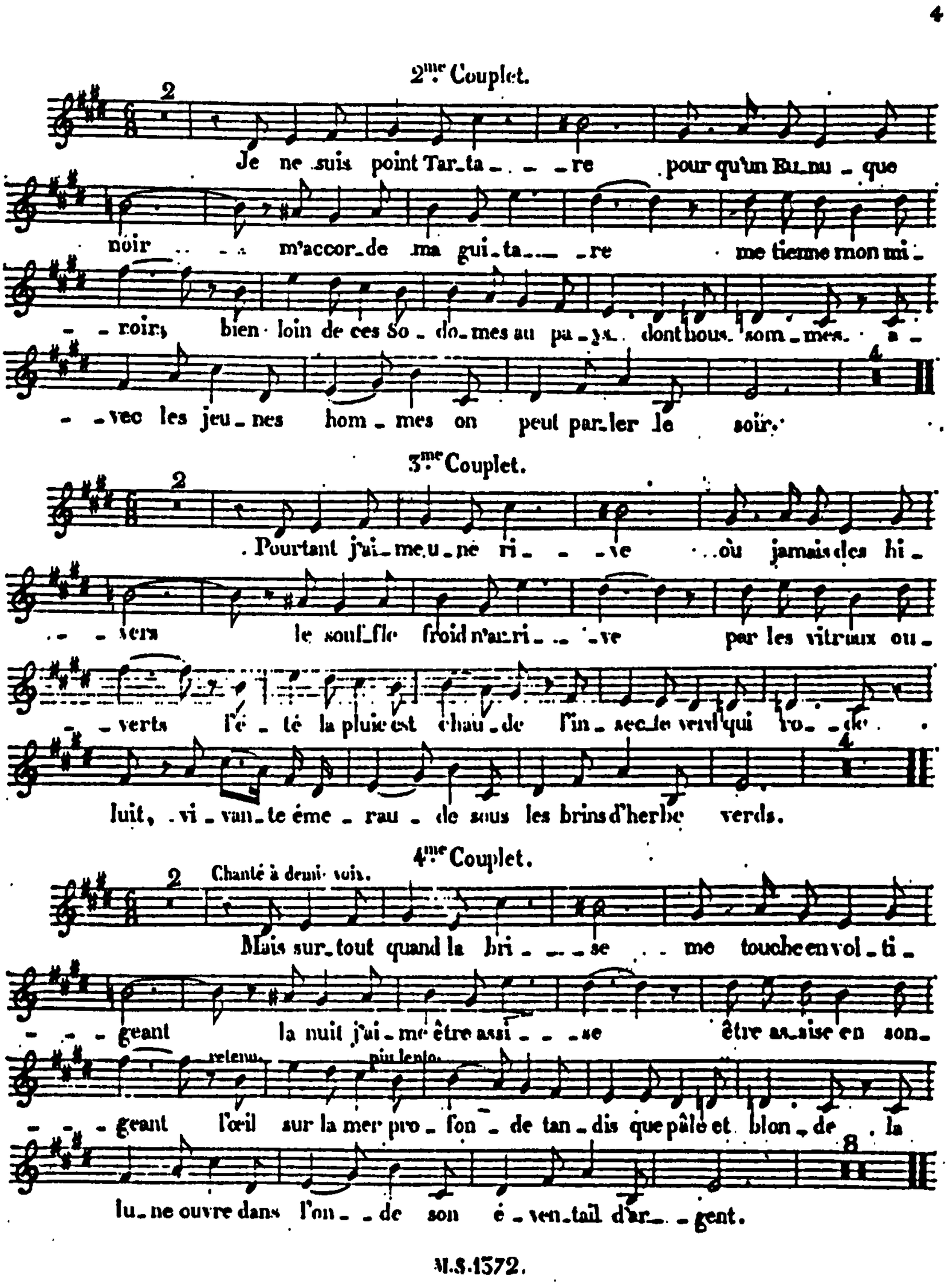
pp

poco piu lento.

cres. sf pp

cres. sf p

M.S.1372. sf p



In omitting the verses of Hugo's poem that were steeped in Eastern flavour, Berlioz was able to make the locality (and therefore the message) of his own setting more ambiguous. Among his omissions were references to 'Smyrne' (a Turkish city), 'vermilion towers', 'triumphant flags', 'golden houses like children's toys', 'tents balanced on the backs of elephants' and a 'palace of fairies'. What was left was a far barer image of captivity, one

which felt disjointed, incomplete, and therefore far more desolate. Without Hugo's alluring descriptions of exotic interiors, Berlioz's reduced poem is also surprisingly modern. Berlioz's 'captive' surveys the moonlit view from her window; she surveys her surroundings and becomes absorbed in dreams of her past freedom. Turning for release to memories of nature, and (in the 1850 version) to dance and song, she fantasises about freedom. Eventually she must reawaken herself to harsh reality and the contractual world of humanity.

As in Rossini's *Giovanna d'Arco* the temporal setting of night-time in *La Captive* creates an atmosphere of dreamy reminiscence. By avoiding an objective description of the woman, Berlioz induces a heady, surreal atmosphere that blends luminosity with darkness. By choosing verses that exaggerate the dimness of the night he heightens the immediacy of the woman's captivity and suggests that this is the metaphorical night-time of her life. The emphasised presence of the moon is a metaphor for reflectivity, just as it instils a sense of fate. In this vein Berlioz's *La Captive* complies with the association of darkness with the internal world of dreams and fantasy favoured in the later nineteenth century (as in Wagner's *Tristan and Isolde*, Act 2). The evocative surrealism of Berlioz's truncated poem also pre-empted the abstract symbolist texts chosen by composers of the late nineteenth century (Fauré's *Clair de lune*, and Debussy's *Pelléas et Mélisande*).

Like the portrait of the duchess at her table in Blaye, Berlioz's captive appears poised and resigned rather than hysterical. She is simply an object of curiosity: a woman whose former life is past. There is no suggestion of the madness or delirium that was consistent with the operatic vogue for imprisoned women (as in Donizetti's *Anna Bolena*, which had made a sensational foray onto the stage of the Théâtre Italien at its première on 1 September 1831).

The four verses of *La Captive* are each connected by a four-bar link on the piano and cello. Berlioz creates the sense that time is passing slowly with a languorous pace throughout, and long, intense and ecstatic phrases. A slow, moody and lugubrious opening suspends Berlioz's captive in time and space. The directionless undulating accompanying figure in 6/8 (perhaps representing the sea), amplifies the pathos of the captive's predicament. When the voice enters we are immediately transported into a deeply subjective world. The emotionally laden opening statement 'Si je n'étais captive, j'aimerais ce pays' exploits a rising major 6^{th} on 'captive', an interval that has since early-Baroque opera signified a topos of grief (this was also the intervallic shape heard in *Tout Deuil*, and Meusnier de Querlon's *Adieu, mon plaisant pays de France*).

A musical sigh builds sequentially in the vocal line over the first three phrases, relying on repetition and a rising tessitura to promote a sense of urgency. This is intensified in verse

1 by the litanic repetition of 'Et' ('Et cette mer plaintive, /Et ces champs de maïs, /Et ces astres sans nombre'). Berlioz creates discontinuity by fragmenting the text in short musical phrases. Thus he insinuates the extent of the singer's underlying neurosis. Each vocal phrase is characterised by the lulling crotchet-quaver rhythm, but ends suspended by a longer note. From beneath this texture, the cello bursts through with its own broken phrase that points towards the singer's conscious desire for freedom. The phrases build successively towards a climax on the fifth phrase before plunging into a releasing sigh for the final utterance, whose low range (reaching b below middle c) imbues it with a desperate melancholy. In the final verse (sung under the breath – 'sous la voix'), the captive is haunted by ethereal thoughts, surveying the distant horizon and the moonlit sea.

La Captive resonates drama and psychological insight, in spite of the simplicity of its short and strophic form. The escapist metaphor is clearly embedded in the song's harmonic language. The uneasy relationship between E major (associated here with imprisonment) and g# minor and c# minor (associated with the elusive fantasy of freedom) provides a musical metaphor for the captive's psychological turmoil and alienation. Recurring inflections of c# and g# minor are frustrated as the music is constantly pulled back to E major. The tonic is destabilised by c# minor as early as b. 5-6, intrinsically linked to the plaintive residue of the rising 6^{th} motif on 'captive'; the return to the tonic links the first two vocal phrases. G# minor is established by a weak tonicisation at b. 8-11 ('Et cette mer plaintive, /Et ces champs'), again complementing the rising 6^{th} of the voice. By this stage the captive has built up her fantasy of escape. Driven to a climax by an upward chromatic scale of six quavers in the cello, her illusion is dashed by the weak chromatic tonicisation onto the reality of E major in b. 12-13. She realises that her imprisonment is inescapable, and despite a last hope of c# minor at b. 14 ('long du mur'), her hopes unravel chromatically into E as the emotional spiral unwinds towards b. 19-20, and her thoughts are crushed slowly in a huge sigh of resignation. In the closing bars, hope of escape returns like a fleeting echo on a diminished chord (b. 22) which resolves to a hint of g# minor. Berlioz avoids actual modulation to g# in these closing bars (as in the coda) by creating a weak tonicisation, and by spelling the first minim of b. 22 as G natural rather than F double sharp (which belongs to chord V of g# minor). The unrelenting hints at the sub-mediant and mediant minor tantalise the captive with a promise of release throughout the song. No sooner is the woman's dream of escape within her grasp than she is snapped awake by the uncompromising authority of E major.

Berlioz's inclusion of a cello part, with its short expressive bursts of chromaticism and its huge arching sigh (at 'maïs' in verse 1, in the closing four bars, and in the 'coda'), suggests

that he may have had in mind a larger-scale conception when he wrote the version of *La Captive* for piano, voice and cello in 1832. The cello is used for harmonic and textural enrichment. It acts as the singer's alter ego, but it also represents figuratively the watchful eye of the enemy. Thus it creates the haunting shadow of the 'sabre du Spahis' in the penultimate phrase of verse 1 ('si le long du mur sombre'), with its shivering double-stopped *tremolando* (*ppp*) below the voice. For the final phrase 'n'étincelait dans l'ombre le sabre du Spahis') its *pizzicato* resonates tentatively in the stillness, imitating the pricks of light shed in the darkness by the guard's sabre.[40]

Berlioz played down the oriental characteristics of the text; his greater interest seems to have lain in creating an air of dispossession. Thus in the first verse, the captive's alienation is highlighted by incongruously foreign words like 'maïs' and 'sabre'. Berlioz's avoidance of obvious syllabic stresses causes the melody to lie uncomfortably with the text. The stressed feminine endings on 'pays' and 'maïs' in verse 1 ring awkwardly against the rising melody. Thus the captive's thoughts are shown to be disconcerted and displaced. Even though her thoughts are elsewhere, the prison walls loom close around her and her imagined frivolous days contrast starkly against her current situation. The song's musical sighs, its ambiguous harmonic language, and its unpredictable word underlay, all combine to suggest an increasing emotional distraction that reflects the fragility of her emotional state.

The strophic design, the uncluttered chordal accompaniment, and the simplicity of the vocal content of this song suggest the influence of lute or guitar accompaniments. Thus, like Spontini's *Tout Deuil*, Berlioz's *La Captive*, implies the style of the historical romance. *La Captive* and *Tout Deuil* bear other striking similarities: the topos of grief in melodic intervals (the rising major 6^{th} in *La Captive*, and the diminished 7^{th} in *Tout Deuil*), the chromatic climax on the central or penultimate phrase, the releasing final phrase, the reliance on scalar movement, and the chromatic or simple chordal movement in the accompaniment. Such characteristics are all typical of the strophic *romance* genre, but it is the topicality of these

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[40] The sabre (Turkish yatagan) was a familiar accessory in Delacroix's oriental paintings from the Restoration. See his *Studies of a Turkish Flintlock Gun and Yatagan* (c. 1824) [Neuilly-sur-Seine], Alfred Strolin, reproduced in Lee Johnson, *The Paintings of Eugène Delacroix*, catalogue no. 27, plate 23, vol. 1, p. 23. Here the yatagan is painted in its sheath. The same weapon was evidently placed to the left in *Turk Seated on a Sofa Smoking* (probably pre-1825) [Musée du Louvre], see Johnson, *The Paintings of Eugène Delacroix*, catalogue no. 35 , plate 30, vol. 1, p. 23.

songs that is most interesting.[41] Beyond their aesthetic similarities, *La Captive* and *Tout Deuil* create a particular pattern because of their iconographical potential for the Duchesse de Berry.

For those singing or hearing Berlioz's *La Captive* in the early 1830s, the captive's fantasy of freedom offered a metaphor for their own nostalgia, and for their need of temporary emotional release from the traumas of modern society. The mood of ironic resignation in the song offered an analogy for the fears of the early nineteenth-century French public to accept their own frustrations.

La Captive's atmosphere of slowed time and distance reflects a significant sociological anxiety of the French public of around 1832. In the wake of the recent wrenching trauma and warfare, salient questions about change and progress were crucial for those who after the July Revolution suffered an overwhelming sense of futility. Psychologically, the (Romantic) desire for distance from immediate problems was acute. Berlioz's song, like the Duchesse de Berry's imprisonment, held up a mirror to these anxieties.

The sense that Berlioz's captive was being watched by unseen eyes could be equated with the early nineteenth century's inherently voyeuristic preoccupation with contemplating the iconographical past. Thus, in *La Captive*, and in the duchess's imprisonment, memory or reflection (as a way of viewing the past) functioned symbolically as a means of escapism. For the public of the early July Monarchy, the need to reflect betrayed an awareness of the shadow of the past, and therefore of the suspicion of accountability. It indicated an awakening realisation that the present generation would be held accountable for their actions by future generations.

The elements of voyeurism and reflection are, therefore, crucial to understanding the enthusiastic reception of Berlioz's *La Captive* in the early 1830s. The visitors to Blaye placed themselves in the position of the Duchesse de Berry, taking in the view that must have been seen by her, and regarding themselves, like her, to be trapped by their own destiny. In other words, the voyeurs strove to 'take the stage' as principal actors in the drama, just as those who sang *La Captive* placed the words of the poem in their own mouths. More than simply viewing the object, the voyeur approached and absorbed the object, synthesising himself with it. Thus 'self' (an essential ingredient of the Romantic movement) became confused with 'other', and reality became confused with fiction. The resulting fusion of the objective and

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[41] For discussions on the *Romance* genre at this time see Austin Caswell, 'Loïsa Puget and the French *Romance*', *Music in Paris in the Eighteen-Thirties*, ed. Peter Bloom (Stuyvesant: Pendragon Press, 1987), p. 97-115, and Fauser, 'The songs', *The Cambridge Companion to Berlioz*, p. 108-124.

subjective was an environment that provided the perfect ground for the feverish repetition of *La Captive* in 1832.[42]

Importantly, the captive in Berlioz's song remained anonymous, and this anonymity gave her political impunity. Arriving as *La Captive* did at a crucial juncture in monarchic fortunes, the non-specificity of the woman's circumstances rendered the subject matter aesthetically more versatile. From this point of view it touched on the delicate balance between the public's need for independence from the monarchy, and its paradoxical desire to identify with it. This paradox was realised in the ambiguous and voyeuristic attitude of the French public to living and dead monarchs alike. On the one hand the public approved the cultural historical pilgrimages of artists and writers, but on the other, that same public behaved in a disrespectful voyeuristic manner towards its current royal family and was increasingly reluctant to accept historical iconography exclusively as a support mechanism for the monarchy. Berlioz's song expressed the growing consensus that the body politic relied on a more subjective examination of events past and present. Thus, *La Captive* encapsulated the disintegration of the monarchy as a symbol of historical and political strength, and it signalled the recognition that the monarchy's suffering could no longer trigger the respect, sympathy or support of the French public.

In late 1831 Victor Hugo had expressed his awareness that the political events of the day were likely to effect the collective perception of emerging works of art. Writing in the context of his new collection *Les Feuilles d'automne*, he wrote:

> When one feels poetry in a certain way, one enjoys it more when inhabiting a mountain or a ruin, looking out over an avalanche, or battling one's way in a tempest, than fleeing towards a perpetual Spring. One prefers poetry more from an eagle's point of view than from that of a swallow [...]; if they publish *Les Feuilles d'automne* in this month of November 1831, the contrast between the tranquility of these verses and the febrile agitation of spirits may seem curious in broad daylight.[43]

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[42] The capacity for songs such as *La Captive* to become expanded scenarios was aided by the rich imagination of the musical public. For the *dilettanti* singing the song within a salon context, the missing scenery was easily recreated in the imagination. Annegret Fauser talks of the 'fluidity between the real and imaginary spaces of the stage and the salon' in 'The Songs', *The Cambridge Companion to Berlioz*, p. 124.

[43] 'Quand on sent la poésie d'une certaine façon, on l'aime mieux habitant la montagne et la ruine, planant sur l'avalanche, bâtissant son aire dans la tempête, qu'en fuite vers un perpétuel printemps. On l'aime mieux aigle qu'hirondelle [...]; si'il publie en ce mois de novembre 1831 *Les Feuilles d'automne*, c'est que le contraste entre la tranquilité de ces vers et l'agitation fébrile des esprits lui a

Equally, the re-emergence of Hugo's own poem *La Captive* in the concert première of Berlioz's setting in December 1832 fell upon rough political ground. Through the strange juxtaposition of *La Captive* and the 'febrile agitation' caused by the duchess's imprisonment, we can position the song and the duchess together on a strange middle-ground between political reality and Romanticism, between the disappearing monarchy and its people. *La Captive* may also be considered an important swan-song for the duchess's attempted hold on France. In acting alone in her quest to reinstate the Bourbon monarchy, the duchess had proved that the aspirations of the collective relied on the courage of the individual. It was a strong and thought-provoking message, but one which now had very little meaning for the Bourbons or their supporters.

La Captive's infectiousness may go some way to explaining Berlioz's interest in orchestrating it in 1848.[44] The fall of the Orléans dynasty in the wake of the 1848 Revolution offered a different (but no less dramatic) political receptacle for the song's reception in 1848 from that experienced in 1832. In the orchestration published by Richault (circa 1851) Berlioz had expanded the format of the song, altered its tonality and, with the help of freer word underlay, represented more closely the captive's emotional turmoil.[45] The change of key from E to D brought the voice designation down to 'mezzo-soprano or alto' (implicitly more sombre with the mature sound of those timbres). Berlioz extended his choice of verses (adding verse 8, and repeating material from verse 1). While maintaining the opening melody for verse 1, he experimented freely with it in successive verses, highlighting the captive's isolation and confusion with unpredictable word-underlay. In verse 4, the captive abandons

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paru curieux à voir au grand jour' Hugo, *Préface* to *Les Feuilles d'automne*, in Albouy, Pierre, ed., *Les Orientales, Les Feuilles d'automne*, p. 183.

[44] In addition to his orchestration of *La Captive*, Berlioz was to orchestrate ten more of the twenty-eight songs he had originally written for solo voice and piano.

[45] The orchestral score for Cornélie Falcon's performance of 23 November 1834 (at the Conservatoire with Girard conducting) is now lost, but it may have contained an extensively altered vocal line and the addition of the fifth verse of Hugo's poem. A second orchestration (in E major) was performed on 29 June 1848 in the Hanover Square Rooms in London, with Pauline Viardot singing, and Berlioz conducting. An English review of this concert was printed in *The Musical World* (1 July 1848). Berlioz's third orchestration, sung by Emilie Widemann, was premièred on 29 October 1848; it too was conducted by Berlioz. There were additional parts for bass drum, cymbals and an optional second orchestra, and the key had been changed to D major.

Richault's edition of the chamber music version of the song (c. 1849) was inspired by Viardot Garcia's 1848 performance. The publishers then came forward with their edition of the full score (c. 1851). Stephen Heller's piano reduction of the orchestral edition was first published in 1850. In 1902 Heller's piano reduction was published by Schott for mezzo and piano in Pinkerton's English translation. For a critical outline of the orchestral sources see Kemp, ed., *Berlioz, The New Edition*, vol. 13, p. IX-X.

her melody entirely and spins off into a dazzling fantasy. The melody is in turn taken up by the orchestra, which acts as her subconscious. The chilling, acerbic utterance 'Ha! ha! ha!' (added by Berlioz in verse 4) falls mid-way between irony and delirium. To bring his captive full circle, Berlioz repeats fragments of verse 1; the captive must return falteringly to grim reality.

Berlioz described his third orchestration in a letter to Joseph Joachim dated 20 December 1853:

> I must tell you confidentially that I adore this piece, but that it is very difficult to perform well, since there are so many nuances of tempo and there is a reverie (simultaneously exalted and voluptuous) to which the singer must submit entirely in order to understand it.[46]

Although Berlioz evidently had a fixed expectation for the song's interpretation, the word 'reverie' or 'dream' in his comment is enigmatic. His reference to the 'exalted and voluptuous' reverie points equivocally to the captive's fantasy of freedom within the song, and to the state of captivity itself. His use of the word 'submit' implies a desire that the singer should herself become captivated by the song (and thus we return to the idea of the song's drug-like infectiousness).

Berlioz's decision to compose *La Captive* in 1832 may well have been influenced by political developments. It is probable that his audience identified the song with the Duchesse de Berry because of the extent to which the song tapped into a broad vein of public experience, and because its non-specificity ensured its wide-spread appreciation. In turn, the duchess became a metaphor for the failure of the Bourbon monarchy; she became an object of voyeuristic interest to be admired or pitied. At the moment in which Berlioz's song was resurrected by his orchestration of 1848, the French monarchy was finally removed, and Marie-Caroline de Berry's public reputation, like her lithographs, became a mere etching on a stone slab.

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[46] Johannes Joachim and Andreas Moser, *Briefe von und an Joseph Joachim*, 2 vols (Berlin: J. Bard, 1911-12), vol. 1, p. 131, cited in Kemp, ed. *Berlioz, The New Edition*, p. X.

Epilogue

In his preface to *Les Feuilles d'automne* (winter 1831), Victor Hugo commented that the word 'monarchy' was 'being transformed' and was 'changing sense'.[1] He had reason to do so on constitutional grounds alone: the French monarchy's fading reputation had reached a new crisis. The early July Monarchy's 'schizophrenic' public was entertaining the spectre of its past glories with the same nostalgia that had afflicted the public of the Restoration; despite the expectation of change, the French monarchy was still living on borrowed time.

This study has examined evidence of the transformation of the fading Bourbon monarchy within cultural developments, and has demonstrated through a chronological survey of case studies the progressive disjunction between the increasingly subjective potential of musical works that reflected the monarchy and France's actual rejection of the Bourbons. The vogue for historicism had played an important part in the ideological shifts that caused this aesthetic evolution. Crucially, the possibility for opposing political groups to interpret Bourbon historical symbols in alignment with their own political ideologies undermined any hegemonic power of the monarchy. Within France's cultural arena, the Muse of History became a central escapist resource for its mass consumers, which flattered public leaders, as well as the intellects of those furrowing along history's paths. Lyric spectacle and dance, both bathed in historical-mindedness, served as an anaesthetic against reality, providing a regressive medium for both release and conciliation. The alliance between history and entertainment, therefore, promoted a social consensus within an unstable political environment.

For the fading Bourbon dynasty, historical-mindedness represented a fantastical perspective from which to honour its magnificent past, and through which to observe the

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[1] 'The political moment is serious [...] the old word 'peer', once almost as glittering as the word 'royalty', which is being transformed and is changing sense' ['Le moment politique est grave [...] le vieux mot *pair*, jadis presque aussi reluisant que le mot *royauté*, qui se transforme et change de sens.'], Hugo, *Préface* to *Les Feuilles d'automne*, in Albouy, Pierre, ed., *Les Orientales, Les Feuilles d'automne*, p. 183.

rekindled embers of ostentation fade with dignity. But dignity and entertainment were often as incompatible as oil and water, and increasingly confrontational images of royalty as a public spectacle nourished the growing suspicion that the monarchy was an ineffectual adornment of society. The monarchy's gradual migration to the stage was, then, an ironic but logical outcome of the Restoration's *malaise*. Music's chameleon-like role as a mediator between the authority of the monarchy and the burgeoning republican tendencies of the bourgeoisie should not be underestimated. Musical works of diverse genres guided and configured the public's reception of old and new cultural ideas, disguising the more painful political innuendoes under the cloak of entertainment.

Marie-Caroline de Berry's contribution to the 'dramatisation' (and therefore failure) of the monarchy was substantial. Her transformation from fairytale Bourbon princess in 1816 to aspiring military leader in 1832 paralleled cultural developments. Her penchant for music and dance, and the close links between her own actions and those of historic and fictional characters, encouraged the Parisian public to develop a perception of her as a self-determining, Romantic heroine, and provided ample opportunity for her portrayal by creative artists of every medium. She was held up for her achievements (and failings) as a figurehead, and iconised within her own lifetime. If the duchess left a strong mark on French culture, this was also to an extent a by-product of the French historical anxiety to find a female leader; Marie-Caroline became a substitute for Jeanne d'Albret (mother of Henri IV), Cenerentola, Jeanne d'Arc, and even the Virgin Mary.

The contradictions between idealised perceptions of the Duchesse de Berry and the reality of her egotistical and eccentric behaviour, mirrored the relationship between the 'fairytale' of monarchy and its irrational, harsh reality. The remarkable failure of her insurrection ultimately reflected not only her own humiliation, but also that of the Bourbons. Lithographs of the duchess's arrest depicted her next to a chimney-breast.[2] In one such image, which was used to illustrate Blanc's *Histoire de dix ans*, the duchess is wearing a maidenly dress and exuding an aura of spirituality (see *Arrestation de la Duchesse de Berry,* Plate 22).[3] Such an image touched on the duchess's characteristic ambiguity; her white dress

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[2] See Villa, *Collection de Vinck*, vol. 6, nos. 12113-12117 and no. 12118.

[3] *Collection de Vinck*, vol. 6, no. 12116. Some of the other printed images in the Vinck collection placed the duchess in a fully furnished room, and dressed in a dark costume, and they portrayed the confused emotions of those present (nos 12113 and 12114). Remarkably, and in obvious parallel to similar pictures of Cinderella, in Vinck no. 12114 the duchess's feet appear to be at least half the size of those of her female companion.

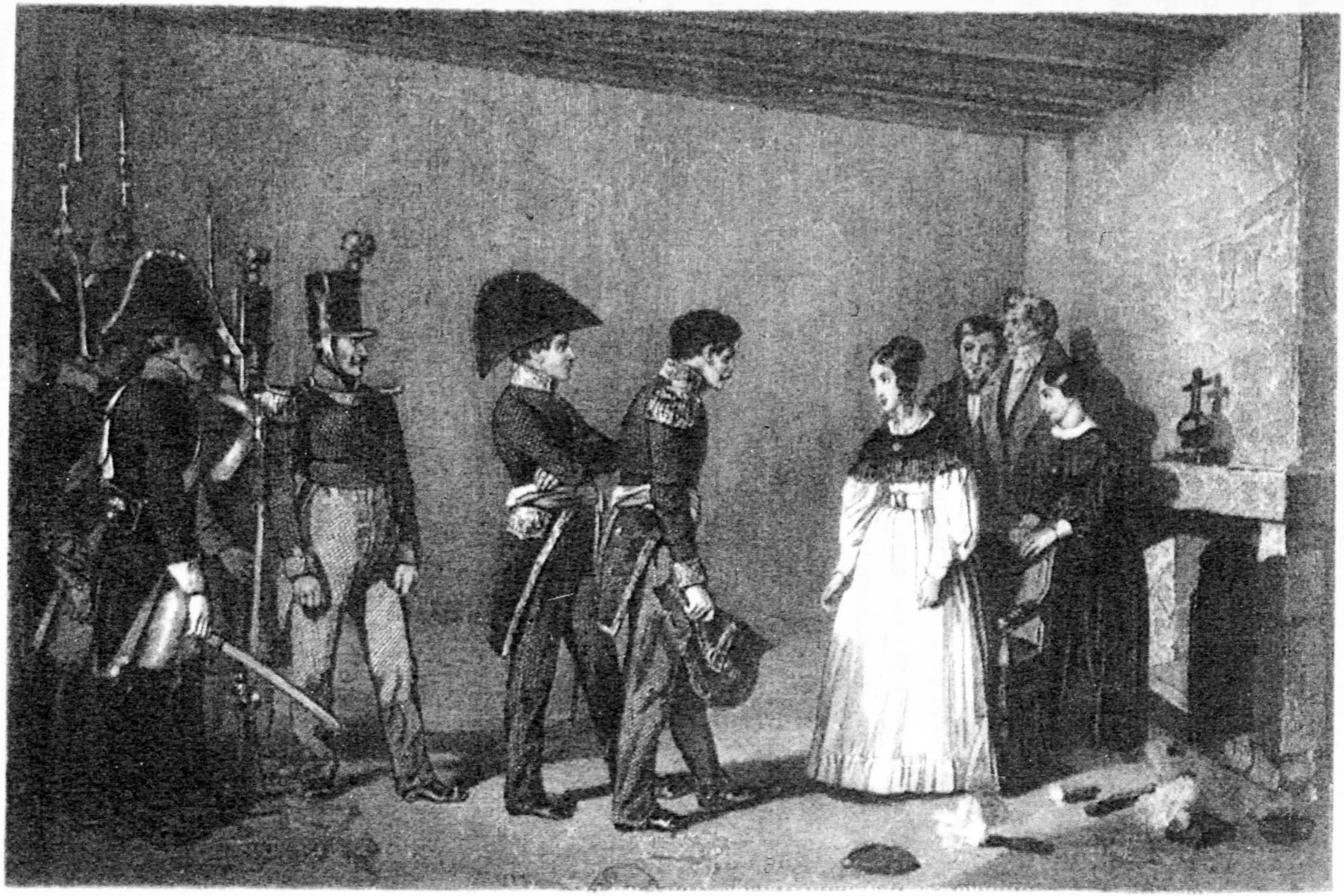

Plate 22: Arrestation de la Duchesse de Berry, 7 novembre 1832.

symbolises innocence, but also mourning. In this lithograph, the room is unfurnished except for a cross on the mantelpiece, and small pieces of debris (like cinders) are strewn around the floor. The duchess has just emerged from her hiding place behind a plaque above the fire, and is confronted by a group of army officers, one of whom approaches her gallantly. Marie-Caroline looks for all the world like Cinderella confessing her identity as the unknown beauty of Ramiro's ball. This image of Marie-Caroline de Berry surrendering her hopes for the Bourbon monarchy also reminds us, however, that it was next to a chimney-breast that Rossini's Cenerentola had sung her ballad for dead kings.[4] By Blaye's fireplace, Marie-Caroline is also the epitome of what Baudelaire was to describe in 1845 as the Restoration's 'blonde romantic ghost':

> Those lithographs, which the dealers buy for three *sous* and sell for a *franc*, are the faithful representatives of that elegant perfumed society of the Restoration, over which there hovers, like a guardian angel, the blond romantic ghost of the Duchesse de Berry.[5]

If Baudelaire felt that the Duchesse de Berry's angelic 'romantic ghost' was hovering in lithographs in the mid-1840s, her presence may have infiltrated his poem *A une Madone, ex-voto dans le goût espagnol* (from *Les Fleurs du mal*), in which several of the signature characteristics of Marie-Caroline are apparent.[6] The urge to pay artistic homage to the Duchesse de Berry's angelic and Madonna-like qualities, as well as her symbolic attachment to the Lily of France, had already been highlighted by Alfred de Vigny in 1832. His comment (quoted in Chapter Five) on the songs that paid court to 'so beautiful an unfortunate', and his description of the duchess as one that 'comes like a Madonna, her infant in her arms, and a

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[4] Associations between the Duchesse de Berry and the chimney in which she hid were evidently widely celebrated; Dumas's play *Madame dans la cheminée, l'aventure de la duchesse de Berry*, pref. Jacques Suffel (Paris: Editions de Montsouris, 1942), was inspired by the events.

[5] 'Ces lithographies, que les marchands achèterent trois sous et qu'ils vendent un franc, sont les représentants fidèles de cette vie élégante et parfumée de la Restauration, sur laquelle plane comme un ange protecteur le romantique et blond fantôme de la duchesse de Berry', Charles Baudelaire, 'Salon of 1845', *Art in Paris, 1845-62, Salons and Other Exhibitions Reviewed by Charles Baudelaire*, trans. and ed. Jonathan Mayne (London: Phaidon, 1965), p. 11-12, cited in Michael Fried, *Manet's Modernism or, The Face of Painting in the 1860s*, trans. Claire Brunet (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1996), p. 59 (fn. 80), orig. *Le Modernisme de Manet, ou, Le visage de la peinture dans les années 1860* (Paris: Gallimard, 1996).

[6] Baudelaire, *Spleen et Idéal* in *Les Fleurs du mal*.

lily in her hand', had defined a simple but memorable iconographical legacy for the later century.[7]

In Baudelaire's *A une madone* the 'romantic ghost' is, like Marie-Caroline de Berry, a 'mortelle Madone', a 'Reine victorieuse et féconde', a 'Reine des Vierges', playing a 'rôle de Marie'; all is preserved for posterity in a marvellous statue. While the parallels between Marie-Caroline and the Virgin Mary are strong, other images within *A une madone*, such as her association with deadly knives, her watchtower of captivity, and, inevitably, the need to preserve evidence of her tiny feet, are equally striking.

Je veux bâtir pour toi, Madone, ma maîtresse,	I want to build for you, Madonna, my mistress,
Un autel souterrain au fond de ma détresse	An altar below ground, in the pit of my distress,
Et creuser dans le coin le plus noir de mon cœur,	And in the very darkest corner of my heart,
Loin du désir mondain et du regard moqueur,	Far from worldly desires and mocking glances,
Une niche, d'azur et d'or tout émaillée,	I want to sculpt a niche, bedecked with gold and blue enamel,
Où tu te dresseras, Statue émerveillée.	In which you shall stand, o marvelled statue.
Avec mes Vers polis, treillis d'un pur métal	With my polished verses, trellised with pure metal
Savamment constellé de rimes de cristal,	Skilfully studded with crystalline rhymes,
Je ferai pour ta tête une énorme Couronne;	I shall make for your brow a gigantic crown.
Et dans ma Jalousie, ô mortelle Madone,	And my jealousy, o mortal Madonna,
Je saurai te tailler un Manteau, de façon	Will make me able to cut you a cloak,
Barbare, roide et lourd, et doublé de soupçon,	Barbarous, harsh and heavy, lined with suspicion
Qui, comme une guérite, enfermera tes charmes ;	Which like a watchtower will keep a check upon your charms;
Non de Perles brodé, mais de toutes mes Larmes !	Embroidered not with pearls shall it be, but with my tears!
[...]	[...]
Je te ferai de mon Respect de beaux Souliers	With my respect I shall make you fine slippers
De satin, par tes pieds divins humiliés,	Made of satin, for your divine humiliated feet.
Qui, les emprisonnant dans une molle étreinte,	When the slippers hold them in a soft restraint
Comme un moule fidèle en garderont l'empreinte.	Like a faithful mould they shall keep your imprint.
[...]	[...]

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[7] '[qui] vient comme une madone, son enfant dans ses bras et son lis à la main!' and 'Mais quoi faire la cour à une infortune si belle' Vigny, *Journal d'un poète*, p. 65 (1832), cited in Chapter Five.

Reine victorieuse et féconde en rachats,
Ce monstre tout gonflé de haine et de crachats.
Tu verras mes Pensers, rangés comme les Cierges
Devant l'autel fleuri de la Reine des Vierges,
Etoilant de reflets le plafond peint en bleu,
Te regarder toujours avec des yeux de feu;
[...]

Enfin, pour compléter ton rôle de Marie,
Et pour mêler l'amour avec la barbarie,
volupté noire ! des sept Péchés capitaux,
Bourreau plein de remords, je ferai sept Couteaux
Bien affilés, et, comme un jongleur insensible,
Prenant le plus profond de ton amour pour cible,
Je les planterai tous dans ton Cœur pantelant,
Dans ton Cœur sanglotant, dans ton Cœur ruisselant.

O queen victorious and fertile with redemption -
This monster so swollen with hate and spit.
You shall see my thoughts, arrayed like votive candles
Before the flowery altar of the Queen of Virgins,
Glinting from the ceiling painted blue,
Watching you ever with eyes of flame.
[...]

Finally, to complete your role as Mary,
And so as to blend love with barbarity,
Sable voluptuousness! of the seven deadly sins,
Like a torturer full of regret, I shall make seven knives
Finely sharpened, and like a thought-free juggler,
Taking the deepest part of your love as my target
I shall thrust them deep into your panting heart,
Your sobbing heart, your streaming heart.[8]

The impossibility for purity to exist in the midst of evil, and the paradoxically contrite destruction of hope, suggest palpable metaphors for the fallen French monarchy. The Madonna's missing crown, her mortality, and her divine but humiliated feet, are plaintive symbols next to the narrator's threats of jealousy, of knives planted in the heart, and of the barbarity of the seven deadly sins. More than the fall of the 'French' monarchy, Baudelaire's invocation of Catholic imagery specifically refers to the 'Bourbon' monarchy, because the Restoration used Catholicism to proclaim its link to God. At the forefront of their campaign for religious legitimacy was their own Madonna, the Duchesse de Berry. Crucial here is the fact that Baudelaire is keeping his Catholic icon out of sight, on a subterranean altar of guilt, like a secret incarnation of nostalgia. From this point of view Baudelaire's *A une madone* bears witness to the calamitous end of the Restoration, and he himself takes responsibility for the desecration of the Madonna (or the 'Crown' or the 'Court'). His idolatrous imagery offers a diagnosis of the guilt-ridden, fatalistic social psychosis of the Restoration and its aftermath.

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[8] Translation kindly offered by Peter Hicks.

As invocations of the Restoration's mortal Madonna, and like mementoes of the Restoration's elegant perfumed society hovering over the later century, the musical case studies of this investigation reappeared during the later nineteenth century: Rossini's *La Cenerentola* (which continued to fascinate audiences throughout the century), the ball scene of Auber's *Gustave III* (performed into the late nineteenth century), Berlioz's *La Captive* (orchestrated in the 1850s), and Rossini's *Giovanna d'Arco* (performed in 1859). These works were inextricably entangled with the Romantic idea of the past haunting the present, reflecting a society that could not shake off the ramifications of its own history. Their embedded monarchist laments display the French nation's need to preserve or crystalise its idolatrous past within the esoteric haven of the arts.

Appendices

Appendix 1 (English version)

Le Télégraphe 16 August 1821

Académie Royale de Musique

The Opéra begins the course of its new destiny this evening. May it be constantly prosperous! The fortune of the establishment rests on two principal elements: capital, and the means to make use of it. The capital of a theatrical enterprise is its repertoire; the means of exploitation, those are the talents of its actors. It is on this double basis that I will try to establish the state and situation of the Académie Royale de Musique. As much as Terpsichore has taken on the work of Polymnie, and it is in name of usurpation alone that she plays with this privilege. I will give back to the Muse of Song the honours due her its rank and to its rights of seniority, and it is through the examination of the musical repertoire of the Opéra that I will begin this inventory of its dramatic wealth. I will divide it into old repertoire, composed of works whose composers are no longer living, and modern repertoire, formed of the works of our contemporaries. I ask, here, pardon to our lyric poets, but as pyramidic as the success of a grand opera may be, three quarters of the honour must go to the composer, and it is he only that I will signal as the 'author', in the review that I am about to begin.

At the time of the closure of the auditorium in the rue de Richelieu, l'Académie Royale de Musique still had in its current repertoire:
By Gluck: *Orphée*, the two Iphigénies, *Armide*, and *Alceste*
By Piccinni: *Didon*;
By Sacchini: *Oedipe à Colonne*;
By Salieri: *Les Danaïdes* et *Tarare.*

Lyric tragedies in five, four or three acts:
By Grétry: *La Caravane de Caire, Colinette à la cour, Panurge, Anacréon chez Polycrate.*

Opara 'of the genre', in three acts:
By Mozart: *Les Mysères d'Isis*;
By Lemoine: *Les Prétendus*, lyric comedy in two acts;

And finally, the operetta *Devin du village* by J.J. Rousseau, which is classed by the three times unknown of the *Journal des Débats*, amongst the rank of vaudevilles, which still, after sixty-eight years, delights all those who regard nature and expression as models of true musical beauty.

We count in the modern repertoire:

By M. Candeillle: *Castor et Pollux*, in five acts;
By M. Lesueur: *Les Bardes*, in five acts;
By M. Catel: *Semiramis*, et *Les Bayadères*, in three acts;
By M. Persuis: (his death is so recent that his works should be classed here) *Le Triomphe de Trajan*, in three acts; *Jérusalem délivrée*, in five acts;
By M. Spontini: *La Vestale, Fernand Cortez*, (I dare not say *Olympie*), in three acts;
By M. Kreutzer: *Aristippe*, 'opéra de genre', in two acts;
By MM. Chérubini et Berton: nothing now;
By M. Boyeldieu et Paër: still nothing;
By M. Garcia: *La Mort du Tasse*, grand opera 'de genre', in three short acts;
By M. Lebrun: *Le Rossignol*, pastoral in one act;
By M. Daunoigne: *Aspasie et Périclès*, short opera in one large act.

We have put back in this year's current repertoire, *Arvire et Evelina*, by Sacchini, reduced to one act; and Méhul's masterpiece *Stratonice*, has passed from the repertoire of the Feydeau, to that of the Opéra.

Such are the acquired riches that form the capital of the l'Académie Royale de Musique. To evaluate its revenue, it is necessary to know what advantage it will place them in the public domain, and the extent of this advantage will be based on the talent of the actors. [Signed] A.

Appendix 1 (French version)

Le Télégraphe 16 August 1821

Académie Royale de Musique

L'Opéra commence ce soir le cours de ses nouvelles destinées. Puissent-elles être constamment prospères! La fortune de tout établissement repose sur deux elemens principaux: le capital, et les moyens de le faire valoir. Le capital d'une entreprise theatrale, c'est son répertoire; les moyens d'exploitation, ce sont les talens de ses acteurs. C'est sur cette double base que je vais essayer d'établir l'état et situation de l'Académie Royale de Musique. Quoique Terpsychore y ait pris le pas sur Polymnie, comme ce n'est qu'à titre d'usurpation qu'elle jouit de ce privilège, je rendrai à la Muse du chant, les honneurs dus à son rang et à son droit d'aînesse; et c'est par l'examen du répertoire musical de l'Opéra que je commencerai l'inventaire de ses ricehesses dramatiques. Je le diviserai en répertoire ancien, composé des ouvrages dont les auteurs n'existent plus, et en répertoire moderne, formé des ouvrages de nos contemporains. J'en demande, ici, pardon à nos poêtes lyriques, mais quelque pyramidal que puisse être le succès d'un grand opéra, comme les trois quarts au moins de l'honneur en reviennent au compositeur, c'est celui-ci seulement que je signalerai comme auteur, dans la revue que je vais commencer.

A l'époque de la clôture de la salle de la rue de Richelieu, l'Académie Royale de Musique avait encore au courant de son répertoire:

De Gluck: *Orphée*, les deux *Iphigénie*, *Armide*, et *Alceste*
De Piccini: *Didon*;
De Sacchini: *Oedipe à Colonne*;
De Salieri: *les Danaïdes* et *Tarare*.

Tragédies lyriques, en cinq, quatre ou trois actes:

De Grétry: *la Caravane de Caire*, *Colinette à la cour*, *Panurge*, *Anacréon chez Polycrate*.

Opéra dits de genre, en trois actes:

De Mozart: *les Mysères d'Isis*;
De Lemoine: *les Prétendus*, comédie lyrique en deux actes;

Et enfin, de J.J. Rousseau, l'operette de *Devin du village*, qui, classé par le triple inconnu du *Journal des Débats*, au rang des vaudevilles, fait encore, au bout de soixante-huit ans, les délices de tous ceux qui regardent le naturel et l'expression comme le type des vraies beautés musicales.

On compte dans le répertoire moderne:

De M. Candeillle: *Castor et Pollux*, en cinq actes;
De M. Lesueur: *les Bardes*, en cinq actes;
De M. Catel: *Sémiramis*, et *les Bayadères*, en trois actes;
De M. Persuis: (sa mort est si récente que ses ouvrages doivent être classés ici) *le Triomphe de Trajan*, en trois actes; *Jérusalem délivrée*, en cinq actes;
De M. Spontini: *la Vestale*, *Fernand Cortez*, (je n'ose dire, *Olympie*), en trois actes;
De M. Kreutzer: *Aristippe*, opéra de genre, en deux actes;
De MM. Chérubini et Berton: plus rien;
De M. Boyeldiey et Paër: rien encore;
De M. Garcia: *la Mort du Tasse*, grand opéra de genre, en trois petits actes;
De M. Lebrun: *le Rossignol*, pastorale en un acte;
De M. Daunoigne: *Aspasie et Périclès*, petit opéra en un grand acte.

On a remis, dans le courant de l'année, *Arvire et Evelina*, de Sacchini, réduit en un acte; et le chéf-d'œuvre de Méhul, *Stratonice*, a passé du répertoire de Feydeau, dans celui de l'Opéra.

Telles sont les richesses acquises, qui forment le capital de l'Académie Royale de Musique. Pour évaluer son revenu, il faut savoir à quel intérêt elle les placera auprès du pubic, et le taux de cet intérêt se réglera sur le talent des acteurs. [Signed] A.

Appendix 2A

Titles, dates and locations of *pièces de circonstance* of the Restoration in Paris (1814-1830).[1]

Key to abbreviations:

ARM	Opéra (Académie Royal de Musique)
CO	Cirque Olympique
CTE	Petit Th. d'Enfants
GD	Gymnase-Dramatique
LOD	Odéon
OC	Opéra-Comique
FM	"Aux fêtes municipales"
PD	Panorama-Dramatique
PSM	Porte-Saint-Martin
TAC	Ambigu-Comique
TF	Français
TI	Italien
TG	Gaîté
TV	Vaudeville
TVR	Variétés

Second Restoration – 1815: (Details not yet available)

Preparations for the Marriage of the Duke and Duchesse de Berry – 1816:

30-1-16	*La Coutume écossaise, ou le Mariage sur la frontière*	TG
2-2-16	*Les Jumelles béarnises*	PSM
3-2-16	*Arthur de Bretagne*	TF
3-2-16	*Colinette à la cour*	ARM
8-2-16	*Flore et Zéphire*	TV
8-2-16	*Monsieur de Boulanville, ou la Double reputation*	LOD
10-2-16	*Henri IV et Mayenne, ou le Bien et le Mal*	TF
10-2-16	*Le Moulin de Mansfield, ou le Roi à la chasse*	TAC
12-2-16	*L'Artiste et le courtisan*	PSM
14-2-16	*Sancho dans l'isle de Barataria*	CO
15-2-16	*Le Masque, ou les Epouseurs*	TV
17-2-16	*La Fête d'un bourgeois de Paris, ou le Jour et le lendemain*	LOD

[1] Information included has been gleaned from Wicks, *The Parisian Stage*, Part 2 (1816-1830), and from various journals of the Restoration. As yet, the table does not include works shown at the Théâtre Italien.

20-2-16	*Le Suicide, ou le Vieux sergent*	TG
21-2-16	*Chacun son tour, ou l'Echo de Paris*	LOD (at the Opéra)
22-2-16	*Betinet, ou Plus de peur que de mal*	TAC
22-2-16	*Cadet Roussel dans l'isle des Amazones*	PSM
22-2-16	*Le Carnaval de Venise, ou la Constance à l'épreuve*	ARM
22-2-16	*L'Origine de Pourceaugnac, ou Molière et les médecins*	TV
26-2-16	*Brusquet, fou de Henri II, ou le Carnaval de 1556*	LOD
28-2-16	*Hamlet*	PSM
2-3-16	*Les Deux vaudevilles, ou la Gaîté et le sentiment*	TVR
5-3-16	*Estelle et Nemorin, ou les Bergers de Massanne*	TG
5-3-16	*La Fête du village voisin*	OC

Mariage of Duc and Duchesse de Berry – 1816

15-6-16	*Le Chemin de Fontainebleau*	LOD
15-6-16	*Les Deux mariages*	TVR
15-6-16	*Le Mariage sous d'heureux auspices*	TAC
15-6-16	*La Noce de village, ou le Tableau en miniature*	TG
15-6-16	*L'Union des Lys, ou le Triomphe du génie du bien*	PSM
18-6-16	*Charles de France, ou l'Amour et gloire*	OC
19-6-16	*Les Chansonniers*	TV
20-6-16	*Le Sacrifice d'Adam*	TG
21-6-16	*Les Dieux rivaux, ou les Fêtes de Cythère*	ARM
22-6-16	*Le Mariage de Robert de France, ou l'Astrologie en défaut*	TF
27-6-16	*Charlemagne*	TF
28-6-16	*Le Dix-sept juin, ou l'Heureuse journée*	TV
29-6-16	*La Pensée d'un bon roi*	TF

Visit of Ferdinand, King of Two Sicilies - 1817

4-3-17	*Roger de Sicile, ou le Roi troubadour*	ARM

	Duchesse de Berry's first pregnancy – 1817[2]	
14-7-17	*Est-ce une fille? Est-ce un garçon?*	CO
14-7-17	*L'Heureuse nouvelle, ou le Premier arrivé*	PSM
14-7-17	*Le Sceptre et la charrue*	OC
17-9-17	*Les Fiancés de Caserte*	ARM

	Birth of the Duc de Bordeaux – 29 September 1820:	
13-9-20	*Arvire et Evelina*	ARM
26-9-20	*Le Docteur Quinquina, ou le Poirier ensorcelé*	PSM
1-10-20	*C'est un garcon*	CO
3-10 20	*La Paresseux, ou l'Homme de lettres par paresse*	TF
5-10-20	*Sigismond, ou les Rivaux illustres*	TAC
5-10-20	*La Fiancée perdu*	TV
7-10-20	*Les Dames de Bordeaux*	TVR
8-10-20	*Paris le 29 September 1820*	PSM
10-10-20	*L'Intrigue à l'auberge, ou les Deux Elisa*	TG
11-10-20	*Le Petit Corisandre*	PSM
12-10-20	*Le Deluge, ou les Petits comediens*	TVR
13-10-20	*Le Berceau du prince, ou les Dames de Bordeaux*	TV
18-10-20	*Les Pages du duc de Vendôme*	ARM
18-10-20	*La Jeune tante*	OC
19-10-20	*Clovis*	TF

[2] The baby did not survive, and the Opéra withheld its *pièce de circonstance* until September as a mark of respect. The other theatres listed, however, went ahead with their productions despite the obvious lapse in etiquette.

Baptism of the Duc de Bordeaux - May 1821

10-4-21	*Les Deux veuves, ou les Contrastes*	PSM
10-4-21	*La Française*	GD
10-4-21	*Le Jeune oncle*	Not avail.
30-4-21	*Le Baptême de village, ou le Parrain de circonstance*	TV
30-4-21	*Le Baptême, ou la Double fête*	TAC
30-4-21	*Le Berceau, ou les Trois âges de Henri IV*	CO
30-4-21	*Le Chateau de Chambord*	GD
30-4-21	*Les Faubouriens de Paris*	PD
30-4-21	*Le Garde-chasse de Chambord*	TVR
30-4-21	*L'Hôtel des Invalides, ou la Députation*	LOD
30-4-21	*Jeanne d'Albret, ou le Berceau*	TF
30-4-21	*Le Panorama de Paris, ou C'est fête partout*	OC
30-4-21	*Les Suites d'un bienfait*	PSM
30-4-21	*Trois bienfaits pour un, ou les Deux baptêmes*	TVR
3-5-21	*Blanche de Provence, ou la Cour des fées*	ARM
3-5-21	*La Sorcière, ou l'Orphelin écossais*	TG
5-5-21	*Le Mandarin Hoang-Poufm ou l'Horoscope*	PSM
15-5-21	*Le Present du prince, ou l'Autre fille d'honneur*	LOD
29-11-23	*Rossini à Paris, ou le Grand dîner*	GD

Angoulême's Spanish conquest (1823)

Dec-23	*Le Retour*	CTE
5-12-23	*Vendôme en Espagne*	ARM
6-12-23	*L'Ecole des viellards*	TF
6-12-23	*Les Hussards dans l'étude*	TAC
6-12-23	*La Mort vivante, ou les Suites d'un cartel*	TV
10-12-23	*La Route de Bordeaux*	TF
12-12-23	*Le Duc d'Aquitaine*	OC
13-12-23	*Une Journée de Vendôme*	LOD
16-12-23	*Les Adieux sur la frontière*	TVR
16-12-23	*L'Arc de Triomphe*	TG

16-12-23	*Fête à la halle! ou le Retour de nos braves*	TAC
16-12-23	*La Fête de la victoire*	GD
16-12-23	*Les Invalides, ou Cent ans de gloire*	PSM
16-12-23	*Plus de Pyrénées*	TV
16-12-23	*Le Tambour de Logrono, ou Jeunesse et valeur*	CTE
19-12-23	*Une Heure à Porte Sainte-Marie*	GD
20-12-23	*Le Comte d'Angoulême, ou le Siège de Gênes*	LOD
20-12-23	*Les Femmes volantes*	TV
20-12-23	*L'Heritière*	GD

Coronation of Charles X – 1825

25-5-25	*Les Singes, ou la Parade dans le salon*	TV
26-5-25	*Niçaise, ou le Jour des noces*	TG
28-5-25	*Les Acteurs à l'auberge*	PSM
29-5-25	*Le Couronement au village, ou la Route de Reims*	CTE
29-5-25	*L'Entrée à Reims*	TAC
6-6-25	*Fenêtres à louer, ou les Deux propriétaires*	GD
7-6-25	*Le Bourgeois de Reims*	OC
7-6-25	*Les Chatelaines, ou les Nouvelles Amazones*	TV
7-6-25	*La Clemence de David*	TF
7-6-25	*La Couronne de fleurs*	TVR
7-6-25	*Le Fils de Pharamond, ou la Forêt enchantée*	CTE
7-6-25	*Louis XII, ou la Route de Reims*	LOD
7-6-25	*Le Viellard d'Ivry, ou 1590 et 1825*	PSM
7-6-25	*Le Voyage à Reims*	TG
10-6-25	*Pharamond*	ARM
11-6-25	*Les Empiriques d'autrefois*	GD
19-6-25	*Il viaggio a Reims*	TI

Investiture of Comte de Chambord

15-3-30	*François 1er à Chambord*	ARM

Appendix 2B

Jour de Saint-Charles

3-11-25	*Un Trait de Charlemagne, ou Epignard et Emma*	FM
4-11-25	*L'An mil huit cent trent-cinq, ou la Saint-Charles au village*	GD
4-11-25	*Le Béarnais, ou la Jeunesse de Henri IV*	TF
4-11-25	*Le Canal Saint-Martin*	TG
4-11-25	*Le Centenaire, ou la Famille des Gaillards*	TVR
4-11-25	*Dansera-t-on? ou les Deux adjoints*	LOD
4-11-25	*Les Lanciers*	TG
4-11-25	*Monsieur Charles, ou une Matinée à Bagatelle*	PSM
4-11-25	*Le Petit postillon de Fîmes, ou Deux fêtes pour une*	TAC
4-11-25	*Le Projet de pièce*	OC
29-11-25	*Les Ruses espagnoles*	PSM
4-11-26	*Une Aventure de Charles V, ou la Rosière par ordonnance*	TF
4-11-26	*Le Béarnais, ou l'Enfance de Henri IV*	Th. Sevestre
4-11-26	*L'Ecole de Rome*	LOD
4-11-26	*La Fée du voisinage, ou la Fête au hameau*	GD
4-11-26	*La Fête du village, ou le Cadran de la Commune*	PSM
4-11-26	*Les Jolis soldats, ou la Fête à la Guinguette*	TVR
4-11-26	*La Salle de police*	TG
6-11-26	*Le Dilettante, ou le Siège de l'Opéra*	TV
3-11-27	*Le Camp de Saint-Omer*	PSM
3-11-27	*Les Deux peintres, ou le Salon de 1827*	TV
3-11-27	*Charles V et Duguesclin*	LOD
3-11-27	*La Journée d'un flâneur*	TVR
3-11-27	*Mat de Cocagne*	TG
3-11-27	*Le Rêve d'un brave*	CO
3-11-27	*Le Roi et le batalier*	OC
3-11-27	*La Fête des marins, ou un Jour a Dieppe*	GD
3-11-28	*Les Français en Morée*	TVR
3-11-28	*Les Lanciers et les marchandes de modes*	TG
3-11-28	*Le Retour au département, ou la Saint-Charles*	TAC
4-11-28	*La Saint-Charles au village, ou le Cheval et le paysan*	CO

Appendix 3

Gyrowetz and Aumer's *Les Pages du duc de Vendôme.*

Musical outline.[3]

Scene/ *divertissement*	Dance numbers	Title / description	Approx. no. pages
Sc. 1		Allegro moderato...	3
Sc. 2		Allegro moderato...	1.5
Sc. 3		Andante moderato	1.5
		Marcia	3
Divertissement 1			
Divert. 1 – 1	Villageois and villageoises	Allegro... and bolero	8 (plus 2 cut)
Divert. 1 – 2	Coryphées	Andante allegretto	7.5
Divert. 1 - 3*[4]	Premier corps	Allegro (Spanish flavour)	6 (plus 2 cut)
Divert. 1 - 4*	Deuxième corps	Marqué (Spanish flavour)	2
	Troisième corps	Polacca	7.5 (plus 0.5 cut)
Divert. 1 – 5	Petits villageois	Andante Cantabile (minor, harp solo).	1
	Bolero	Minore (harp)	1.5
	Pas de trois, nobles et villageois	Allegretto	9
Divert. 1 - 6*	Tarentelle		4.5
'Après le divertissement' (the dance is interrupted by the arrival of news from the French outposts).			
Sc. 4-14		Allegro assai (includes several *marcia* sections). From this point no scene numbers are given in the score.	63.5
Divertissement 2			
Divert. 2 – 1	Pas seul	Allegro	2
Divert. 2 – 2	Pas de deux	Allegretto	5
Divert. 2 – '4' (= 3)*	Pas nobles	Allegretto grazioso	7
Divert. 2 – 4		Andante	0.5
		Largo	1.5
		Allegretto amoroso	9.5
Divert 2 Finale	Finale ('douze pages') etc.	(includes second Tarentelle (presto – 3.5)	10.5

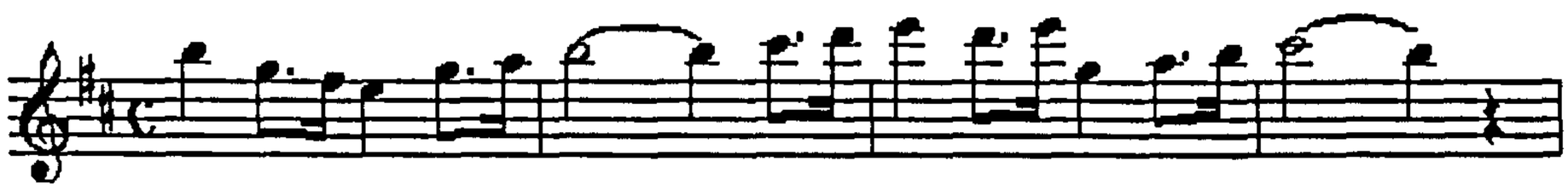
[3] Sources: Aumer, published scenario for *Les Pages du duc de Vendôme*, Biblithèque Nationale, Opéra (shelfmark: (AID 1216)) and Gyrowetz's conducting score, Biblithèque Nationale, Opéra (shelfmark: Mat. 19 194 (1-3)).

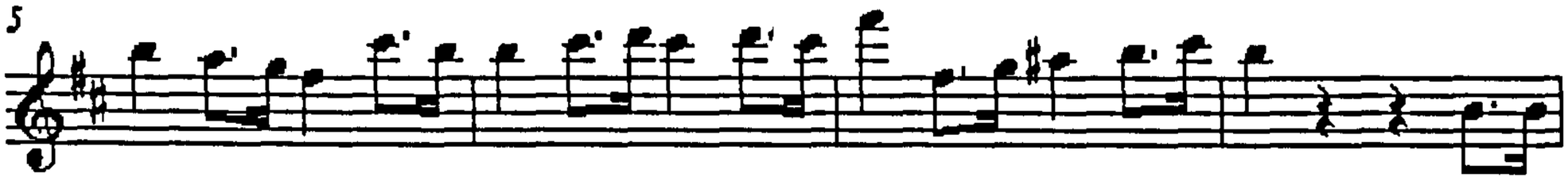
[4] * denotes unclear numeration within the manuscript.

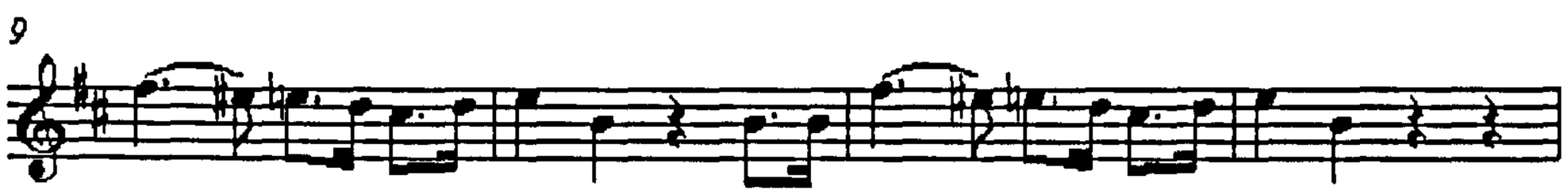
Appendix 4

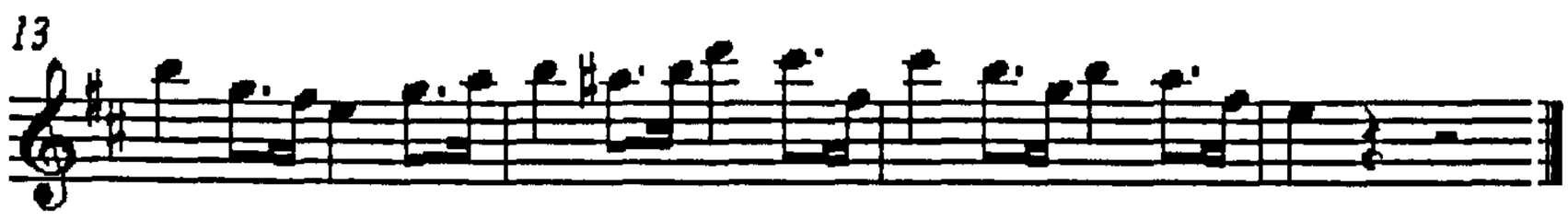
Quadrille de la Duchesse de Berry

1st movement









Appendix 5 Participants in the *Quadrille Marie Stuart*

Un Garde du Corps. — *Un Garde Suisse.*
5 *Pages du Dauphin de France.*

L'Officier des Gardes Suisses. — M. *de Forestier.*

6 *Maréchaux sur deux rangs.*

Maréchal de Brissac.	— M. *de Brissac.*
de Cossé.	— M. *de Cossé.*
Montmort-d'Arville.	— M. *d'Osambray.*
Gondi de Retz.	— M. *de Louvois.*
de Saint-André.	— M. *de Richelieu.*
L'Amiral de Coligny.	— M. *de Ménars.*

FRANÇOIS, DAUPHIN DE FRANCE.

Connétable de Montmorency.	— Prince *de Lucinge.*
Duc de Ferrare.	— M. *de Pastoret.*

9 *Gentilhommes marchant sur trois rangs.*

PREMIER.

François de Médicis.	— M. *de San-Jiacomo.*
Jacques de Nemours.	— M. *d'Orglandes.*
De Duras.	— M. *de Mac-Mahon.*

DEUXIÈME.

Chabot.	— M. *de la Ferronnays.*
D'Aumont.	— M. *de St.-Aldégonde.*
Langue bras-de-fer.	— Baron *de Charette.*

TROISIÈME.

D'Andelot.	— M. *Ch. de Cossé.*
Biron.	— M. *de Biron.*
De Belley.	— M. *Alfred de Damas.*

ENTRÉE DE MARIE STUART.

5 *Pages.*

MM. *Roger de Podenas.*
Jaquelin de Maillé.
Amédée de Damas.
Maxence de Damas.
Henri de la Bouillerie.
L'Officier de la Reine. — M. *de Mailly.*

Les 8 *Demoiselles d'honneur.* — *La* Reine.

A côté d'elle le duc de Chatellerault. — (Marquis *de Douglas.*)

4 *Dames d'honneur.*

Mme de Bouillé.	— Mme de Larochejaquelin.
Mme de Casteja.	— Mme de Meffray.
La Reine de Navarre, Jeanne d'Albret.	— Mme *de Juigné.*

Les 2 *Filles de Henri* II.

Marguerite, duchesse de Savoie.	— Marquise *de Mac-Mahon.*
Claude, duchesse de Lorraine.	— Princesse *de Lucinge.*

4 *Princesses du Sang.*

Princesse de Condé.	— Baronne *de Charette.*
Comtesse d'Enghien.	— Marquise *Oudinot.*
Duchesse de Montpensier.	— Comtesse *de Pastoret.*
Princesse de Ferrare.	— Comtesse *de Noailles.*

6 *Dames d'honneur marchant trois par trois.*

Duchesse d'Uzès.	— Comtesse *d'Orglandes.*
Duchesse de Bouillon.	— Comtesse *de Montcalm.*
Maréchale de Brissac.	— Comtesse *de Brissac.*
Maréchale de Strozzi.	— Vicomtesse *de la Ferronnays.*
Comtesse de Coligny.	— Comtesse *de Montaut.*
Princesse de Clèves.	— Comtesse *de Balleroy.*

ENTRÉE DE LA REINE CATHERINE.

2 *Pages.*

M. *Armand de Maillé.*
M. *Louis de Podenas.*

2 *Filles d'honneur.*

Mademoiselle DE SAINT-ANDRÉ.	— Mademoiselle de Bearn.
Mademoiselle DE ROSTAING.	— Mademoiselle de St-Aldegonde.
LA REINE MÈRE.	— Mme *de Podenas.*
Le vidame DE CHARTRES.	— Mr *de Vogué.*

2 *Filles d'honneur.*

Mesdemoiselles D'AVILA. — Mesdemoiselles *Valin.*

10 *Dames.*

Dsse DE GUISE.	— Mme *H. de Biron.*
Dsse DE MAYENNE..	— Mme *de Livois.*
Dsse DE VALENTINOIS.	— Dsse *de Caylus.*
Dsse DE CASTRO.	— Mise *Anjorrant.*
Csse DE BAUDAN.	— Csse *de Tocqueville.*
Dsse DE BOUILLON FERRARE.	— Mme *de Vogué.*
Dsse D'AMVILLE.	— Mme *d'Osambray.*
Csse D'ANDELOT.	— Mme *de Rouben.*
Mle DE TERMES.	— Mme *de Gabriac.*
Csse DE LA ROCHEFOUCAULT.	— Mme *de Liancourt.*

5 *Dames.*

Countess OF ARGYLL.	— Lady *Aldborough.*
Lady FLEMMING.	— » *Combermere.*
» SETON.	— » *Rendlesham.*
» ROTHES.	— Baronne *de Delmar.*
Countess OF CASILLIS.	— Lady *E. Vernon.*

LA REINE.	(Lady *Stuart de Rothsay.*)
FRANÇOIS, DUC DE GUISE.	(M. *L. de Rosambo.*)

Les 4 Marie.

Miss *Baring.*	Miss *Acton.*
Miss *Caulfield.*	Miss *Pole Carew.*

4 *Messieurs.*

Lord HUNTLY.	— Lord *Ranelagh.*
Earl OF LENNOX.	— » *Aboyne.*
Lord DRUMMOND.	— Capitaine *Drummond.*
Lord SDLON.	— » *Forwich.*

Appendix 6

Works relating to Napoleon after July Revolution

9-10-1830	*Bonaparte à l'école de Brienne*	[unknown]	TN
9-10-1830	*Bonaparte, lieutenant d'artillerie, ou 1789 et 1800*	Com. Hist. 2a	TV
14-10-1830	*Napoléon*	Mélo. 3a.	TAC
15-10-1830	*Napoléon à Berlin*	Com. Hist. 1a.	TVR
20-10-1830	*Napoléon, ou Schönbrunn et Sainte-Hélène*	Dr. hist. 2a.	PSM
22-10-1830	*Napoléon à Brienne*	[unknown]	CTE
27-10-1830	*Le Cocher de Napoléon*	Vaud. 1a.	TG
17-11-1830	*Napoléon au paradis*	Vaud. 1a.	TG
2-12-1830	*Joséphine, ou le Retour de Wagram*	Op. 1a	OC
6-12-1830	*L'Empereur*	[unknown]	CO
16-12-1830	*Robespierre, ou le 9 thermidor*	Mélo 3a.	TAC

Appendix 7

Hugo *La Captive* – verses not set by Berlioz

V 4	1828	Smyrne est une princesse Avec son beau chapel; L'heureux printemps sans cesse Répond à son appel, Et, comme un riant groupe De fleurs dans une coupe, Dans ses mers se découpe Plus d'un frais archipel.	The city of Smyrne is a princess With her beautiful chapel; The happy Spring endlessly Responds to her call, And, like a laughing group Of flowers in a cup, In her seas cut off More than one fresh archipeligo.
V 5	1828	J'aime ces tours vermeilles, Ces drapeaux triomphants, Ces maisons d'or, pareilles A des jouets d'enfants; J'aime, pour mes pensées Plus mollement bercées, Ces tentes balancées Au dos des éléphants.	I like these vermilion towers, These triumphant flags, These golden houses Like childrens's toys; I like, for my thoughts More softly rocked, These tents balanced On the backs of elephants.
V 6	1828	Dans ce palais de fées, Mon coeur, plein de concerts, Croit, aux voix étouffées Qui viennent des déserts, Entendre les génies Mêler les harmonies Des chansons infinies Qu'ils chantent dans les airs!	In this fairy palace, My heart, full of concerts, Believes to hear coming from the deserts, Genies with stifled voices Mix the harmonies Of infinite songs That they sing in the air!
V 7	1828	J'aime de ces contrées Les doux parfums brûlants; Sur les vitres dorées Les feuillages tremblants; L'eau que la source épanche Sous le palmier qui penche, Et la cigogne blanche Sur les minarets blancs.	I like in these parts The soft burning perfumes; On the decorated window-panes Trembling leaves; The water that the spring pours forth Beneath a leaning palm tree, And the white stork On the white minarets.

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CC 503	Parliamentary affairs.
F[17] 1055-1304	Public instruction (incl. museums, libraries, theatres).
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F[21] 953-4681	Beaux Arts, publishing, the press and censor (F[21] 969 [...] *procès verbaux* for Parisian theatres).
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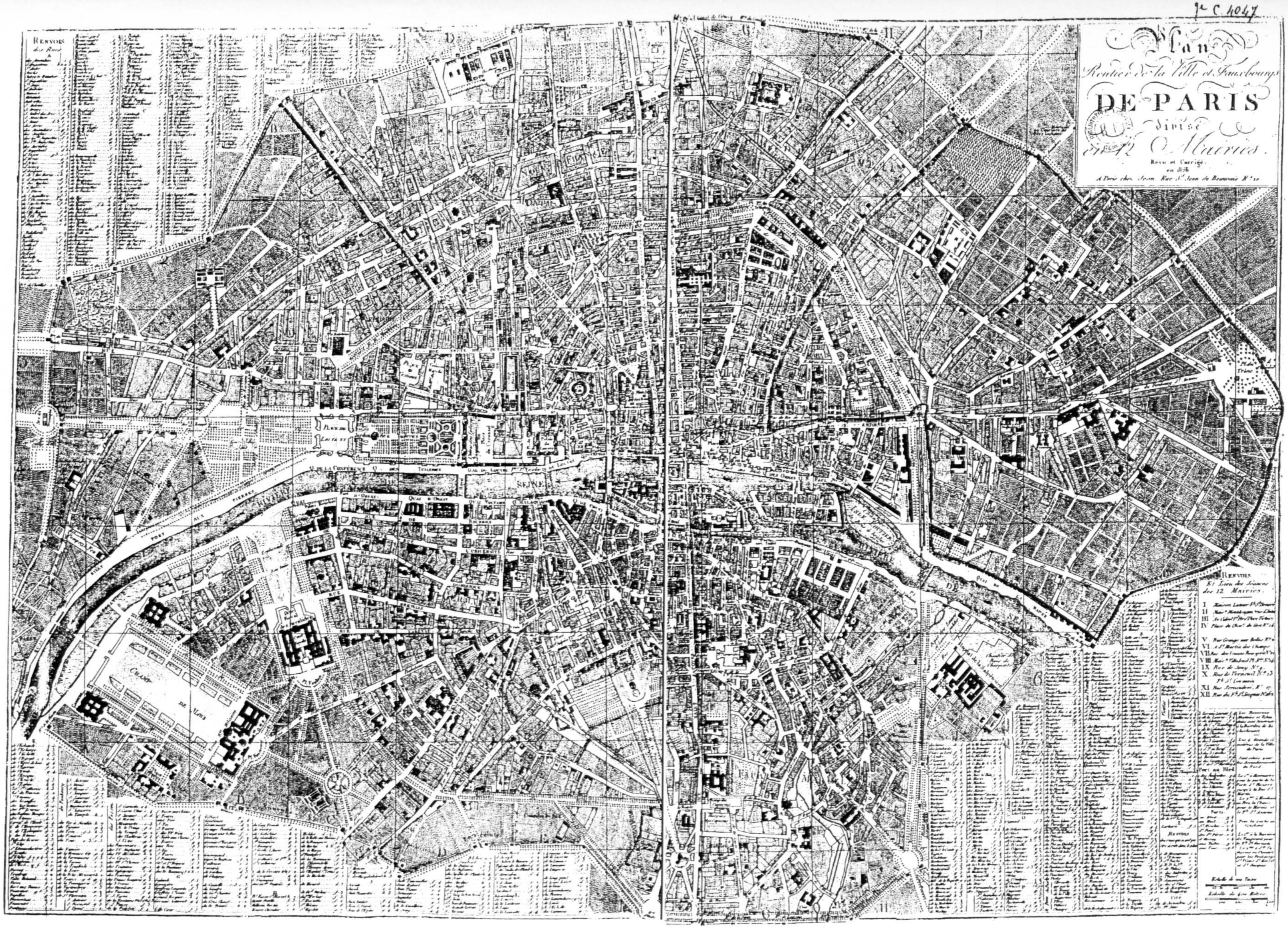

Plate 23: Plan de Paris (1826).